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CRACOW INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

Tantric Traditions in Theory and Practice

Edited by Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz and Ewa Dębicka-Borek

VOL. XVI

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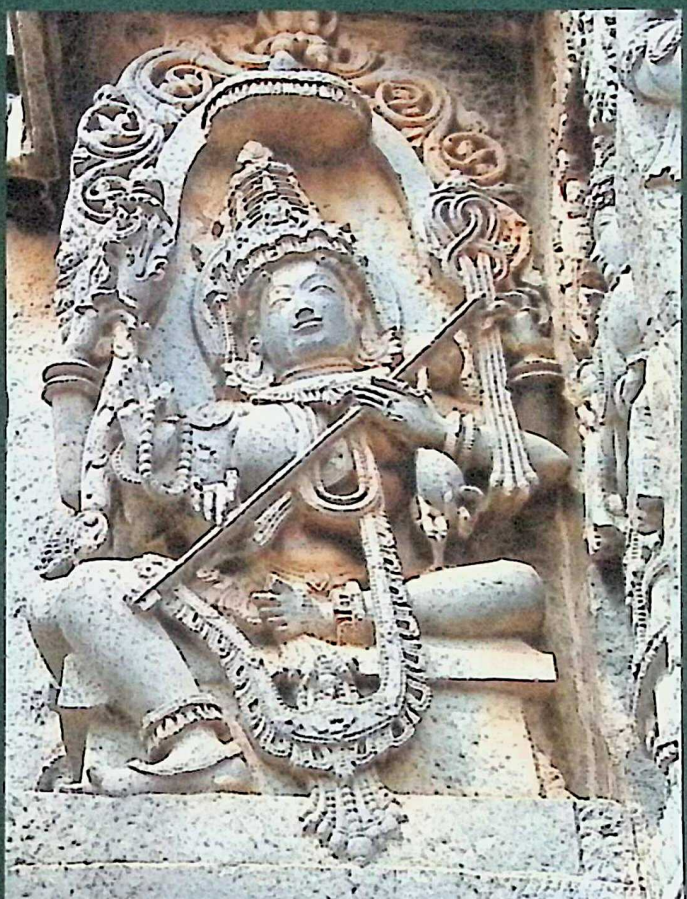

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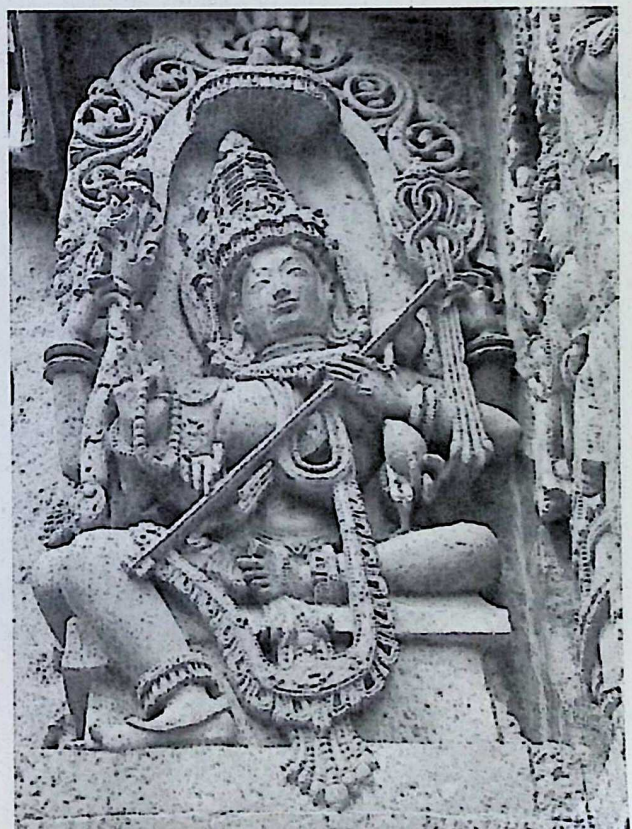

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Preface

The 16th volume of *Cracow Indological Studies*, which we would like to dedicate to the memory of Mr. Józef Łączak, concentrates on Tantric traditions of South Asia, just as the 8th volume, published in 2006. The contributions to the present volume refer both to the topic of the theoretical side of these traditions and to practical issues; some of them pertain also to the mutual relations between theory and practice.

The research on Tantric traditions of India, although based mostly on textual sources, deals also with the practical application of the textual prescripts into the daily practice of the followers and into the temple rituals. Therefore, besides inquiring into the theological and philosophical issues within the vast body of canonical scriptures and exegetical texts, scholars search for traces of actual practice. The mutual relation of the prescriptive or normative literature and the actual shape of the tradition is similarly interesting with regard to the past as well as to present-day India.

Since our knowledge about the textual sources is growing, also due to several research projects dedicated to collecting new, hitherto unknown texts, scholars gain access to more source materials and are able to deepen or re-consider their views concerning the traditions under research. New data is provided by archaeology and history research; anthropological and ethnological inquiry into the still-living traditions has also become one of the important components of Indological research. Thus better knowledge and understanding of Tantric traditions is made possible due to the involvement and cooperation of different disciplines: history of the region, ethnography, epigraphy, archeology, art history and obviously philology.

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The present 16th volume of *Cracow Indological Studies* is therefore meant for contributions concerning several issues connected with the new developments in the study on the textual sources as well as the more practical dimensions of Tantric traditions.

Tantric traditions of South Asia created rich literature, an extensive part of which was viewed as canonical and revealed by the highest god himself, though collected and systematized by men. The theoretical needs imposed by the canonical scriptures, claiming also to belong to Brahmins (which very often was the case because it was mostly Brahmins who created them), were meeting the practical needs of the actual situation. Traditions, existing in the particular space and time, in their daily practice had to acknowledge and react to those needs. Some of these traditions were heterodox, unconventional and they openly presented their sometimes controversial views despite the critical opinions of the Brahmanical and orthodox milieu. Other ones tried as much as possible to adapt their ideas to the mainstream of the surrounding traditions. Thus, being subject to internal and external influences, they included elements rooted in the orthodox cults, but also those coming from the local and heterodox cults; some of them contain also elements which transgress orthodox norms. The process of combining strands of different traditions can be observed for example in the South of India, where the Brahmanical culture was interacting with the local, social specificity and local religious traditions of Dravidian origin.

Additionally, the theoretical canon has to interact with the ritualistic and technical needs of religious practice arising from the necessity of ensuring the proper place of worship, adequate representation of the god and efficient procedure of worshipping him.

The relation of the theory and practice draws attention of several scholars, therefore the present volume inscribes also in these streams of Indological research.[1] Axel Michaels, in his *General Preface*

[1] One can refer here for example to the volumes resulting from the research of the group of scholars working in Heidelberg in the frame of the Collaborative Research Center *Dynamics of Rituals*.

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to the "Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals", points out that the study of rituals in South Asia for a long time existed in between philology and anthropology, but nowadays more often field-work and the study of texts are combined.[2] It makes Indological research more interdisciplinary. Nevertheless, the research on textual sources still becomes indispensable to the acquisition of knowledge about theoretical doctrines as well as practical aspects of the traditions under research. However, not having enough sources about the history of reception of the theoretical texts (see for example Rastelli, in the present volume), we have to be cautious about referring scriptures to present-day ritualistic practice directly. The authors of the *Words and Deeds* volume even warn us about such danger.[3] Similarly, some of the authors of the present volume draw our attention to the fact that the texts are usually normative and that it would be difficult to answer the question to what extent they were put into practice. Nevertheless, theoretical rules were probably quite often influenced by actual contemporary practice and also by contemporary context.[4] Thus in the texts one

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[2] Michaels 2005.

[3] Gengnagel, Hüsken and Raman (Gengnagel et al. 2005: 18) write: "However, a reliance on field observations should not induce one to read ancient texts in the light of present day practice, for this would be tantamount to assuming that such texts corroborate actual practice despite obvious discrepancies between the two. Those who are philologists, though, should be clear about the distinction between theological literature and ritual texts. The latter are often meant to be read and understood in close connection with particular ritual actions, their prescriptions being permanently connected to interpretive performances. A philological approach which narrowly and exclusively focuses on linguistic criteria is not appropriate for the study of texts composed in order to communicate a subject-matter which should be comprehensible within a milieu of ritual practitioners. Hence, Colas makes a strong plea for situating ritual texts within their historical context. The challenge his article poses is addressed in one way or the other by all the papers in these two volumes."

[4] About the role of the texts in contexts and the role of exegesis in constituting this context see for example Timm 1992.

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can find traces of insertions which document the particular stage in the history of the development of a tradition. Sometimes the texts included and described some notions which cannot be observed later. Even if we admit that the appearance of some notions and, for example, some specific classifications could have been slightly artificial and secondary attempts to fill some postulated gaps within a doctrine, they nevertheless could really document a historical reality of a particular epoch. Such could be the case of different categories of devotees listed and described in some Tantric texts (see for example Acri, in the present volume).

An important tool for better understanding of the practical side of the religion, to which some contributors of our volume refer, are the epigraphical sources. Inscriptions, not only from India but also from South-East Asia, can provide us with the knowledge of actual ways of performing rites.[5] Alexis Sanderson, writing about the limitations of the Śaiva literature as evidence of Śaiva reality, points out that one of these limitations is the prescriptive character of the sources which "(...) means that they tell Śaivas what to do and what to think (and why they should do so) but disclose very little about the prevalence of the practices and beliefs that they advocate, of where or when they originated, of where and when they spread, or of the institutional infrastructure and patronage that enabled and sustained these developments".[6] Therefore epigraphical sources coming from the places and objects of worship, temples, pilgrimage centers, inscriptions on stone and copper plates, even if, as Sanderson notices[7], incomplete and uneven, can overcome at least some of these limitations.[8]

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[5] See for example Colas 2005, Sanderson 2003–2004, 2013.

[6] Sanderson 2013: 215.

[7] Sanderson 2013: 218.

[8] Sanderson (Sanderson 2013: 218) says about inscriptions: "Supplemented by the evidence of the legends and depictions found on the seals and coin issues of certain kings they enable us to learn much more than the prescriptive texts reveal about the chronology, spread, and patronage of religious movements in India and beyond, to work towards a view of their relative

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The contributions to the volume inscribe in yet another very urgent mission of Indology connected with the preservation and research on original, unknown and unpublished sources. As G. Colas wrote: "A sense of historical urgency haunts any honest indologist who, in order to reach a more balanced picture of the history of Indian literature, cannot confine his research to well-known texts and Indian and Western views on them which took definite shape in the twentieth century. He has to save, edit and publish many manuscript works that are literally on the point of disintegrating."[9]

These and many other subjects important for the recent Indological research have their exponents among the authors of the present volume.

In his article entitled "Vedic Predecessors of One Type of Tantric Ritual", Shingo Einoo demonstrates that the concept of various usages of the same ritual element in anticipation of different effects attested in Tantric texts might be traced back to the latest layer of the Vedic literature. His investigation starts with the passage from the *Parātriṃśikā* (9–16), which reads that the mantra '*sauḥ*' brings different results depending on the length of its mental recitation. Similarly, for example, the collection of *rāṣṭrabhṛt mantras*, intended to support the kingdom and applied originally at the specific moment of the Agnicayana, happened to be put into another ritual context and used independently for different purposes depending on one's wish. Moreover, in the Vedic context the same ritual element might be also interpreted variously depending on the level of the *śrauta* ritual system. In the opinion of Einoo, this diversity of applications and interpretations of the same element might be connected to the Vedic belief in the extraordinary power of a *śrauta* sacrifice resulting in its various

strength in various regions and periods, and to see important elements of these traditions and their institutions that are not mentioned in the prescriptive literature or if mentioned are not emphasized."

[9] Colas 2005. Here also we can find his very useful and interesting observations concerning the problems of researching Indian religious and ritualistic texts.

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efficacies. This leads the author to the conclusion: "We cannot assume direct relations between the Vedic and Tantric rituals but the ritual applications of one and the same mantra of a certain deity for a variety of effects may be understood as a remote survival of the firm belief of the Vedic Brahmins in their powerful ritual system."

The aim of Andrea Acri's paper entitled "The Śaiva Atimārga in the Light of *Niśvāsaguhya* 12.1–22ab" is to contribute to the understanding of the hardly documented stage of Śaivism. The text in question, namely the *Niśvāsaguhya*, belongs to the earliest known corpus of the Mantramārga that "was composed in a historical period in which the traditions of the Atimārga and Mantramārga shared several elements in common and were just beginning to differentiate themselves as distinct, and competing, systems of salvation within the Śaiva stream." The author concentrates on the verses of *Niśvāsaguhya* 12.1–22ab, which refer to the soteriological means and goals of the little known Atimārga groups of the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas, the followers of Pramāṇaśāstras, the Kārukas and the Vaimalas. He attempts to show that some of these verses might be directly derived from the Pāśupata sources, whereas the others might be read as "revealing information on the self-perception of the Mantramārga in respect to Atimārga Śaivism."

The strategies of incorporation of the pre-existing practice of scrying (called *prasenā, prasīnā, prasannā, pratisenā* or *senikā*) into the Śaiva Mantramārga are discussed by Somadeva Vasudeva in the paper "*Prasenā*, *Prasīnā* & *Prasannā*: The Evidence of the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasadbhāva*". The reason behind appropriating them into the early Mantramārga must have been their significant popularity suggested by contemporaneous literary works. Still, as the author notices, in the case of the Śaiva literary corpus, different attitudes towards the divination can be distinguished. Whereas the exegetical works almost neglect it (Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka* does not mention it at all and his commentator Jayaratha refers to it in a simile), within the revealed scriptures, starting with the *Niśvāsaguhya* itself, it becomes a recurrent motif. Taking into account the extensive textual dependency between the *Niśvāsa* corpus, the *Svacchandatantra* and

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the Trika's *Tantrasadbhāvatantra* demonstrated already by Sanderson, Vasudeva argues that despite sharing a supportive prognosticatory role in the ritual of initiation, we cannot "with the present evidence, establish a direct textual link between the *prasenā* material found in the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasadbhāvatantra*". In addition, since the *Svacchandatantra* does not mention the *prasenā*, it cannot be considered as an intermediate source of reappropriation of this particular practice to the new theoretical frames of the Mantramārga.

Judith Törzsök's article entitled "Women in Early *Śākta* Tantras: *Dūtī*, *Yoginī* and *Sādhakī*" attempts at exploring "the role of actual flesh-and-blood women rather than various (divine or less divine) manifestations of 'the female'". The study is mainly based on the *Brahmayāmala* and the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, both texts forming the earliest stratum of the Śaiva literature dated between the 7th and the 9th centuries. Three categories of women involved in ritualistic matters are discussed: 1) a female ritual partner called *dūtī/śakti*, who plays a rather instrumental role in the ritual performed by a male *sādhaka*, 2) human *yoginī*s, namely women endowed with supernatural powers, who, if someone wants to acquire these powers, often become the object of ritual, 3) the least frequent female practitioner, called *sādhakī/yoginī/bhaginī/strī*, who is a female equivalent of a male *sādhaka*. Although, as the authoress remarks, the texts used by her cannot be treated as a serious source of historical and social data, they may suggest that, as far as *śākta* ritual is considered, the rights and roles of women were of some importance.

The paper entitled "On *yantra*s in Early Śaiva Tantras" by Csaba Kiss is devoted to exploring the changing pattern of the usage of the term *yantra* in the historical context of Śaivism. Basing his observations on the *Brahmayāmala* and other early Śaiva texts, Kiss notices that the association of a *yantra* with geometrical designes, so prevalent in the secondary literature on this subject, emerged gradually, most probably attested for the first time in the *Netratantra*. According to him, in the case of Śaiva literature, the initial usage and meaning of the term *yantra* was much wider than in later works. With time

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passing, it started to connotate specific rituals aiming at acquisition of religious goals, and finally it was linked with rituals of black magic involving transgressive substances, figurines of targeted people and *mantra*s inscribed on a birch-bark.

In his article entitled "Saiddhāntika *paddhati*s I. On Rāmanātha, the Earliest Southern Author of the Śaivasiddhānta of Whom Works Survive, and on Eleventh-century Revisions of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*", Dominic Goodall introduces the issue of the history of ritual manuals (*paddhati*). His main concern is the *Naṭarājapaddhati* authored by Rāmanātha (second half of the 11th century), the earliest dated South Indian theologian of the Śaivasiddhānta whose works are still extant. This particular work survived in a single manuscript kept in a Śaiva monastery at Tiruvāvaṭuturai near Kumbhakonam. The comparative study reveals that despite much less elegant and polished form, the *Naṭarājapaddhati* might have been modeled on the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, an extremely important, often quoted and carefully written medieval Śaiva manual. Nevertheless, the close dates of the composition of both manuals and the stylistic "clumsiness" of the *Naṭarājapaddhati* provoke the discussion regarding the literary history of the South Indian Siddhānta. Goodall proposes the hypothesis that Rāmanātha might have had an access to the early, unimproved version of Somaśambhu's work, which would mean that its eleventh-century version circulated in several editions, different from the presently available one.

The regional context of the theory and practice of the ritual of a 'royal hunt' is the subject of S. A. S. Sarma's examination presented in the paper entitled "*Paḷḷivēṭṭa*, or the 'Royal Hunt', in Prescriptive Literature and in Present-day Practice in Kerala". The author studies several, usually religiously syncretic, Keralan manuals (*paddhati*) and compares their prescriptions with the actual present day practice of the 'royal hunt' (in Malayalam: *paḷḷivēṭṭa*) conducted in the Trivandrum Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī Temple and the Guruvāyūr Temple. As he notices, it seems that in the case of Kerala the description of this particular ritual was introduced by Nārāyaṇa in his *Tantrasamuccaya*,

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where it is shown as an integral part of the great annual festival (*mahotsava*). Taking into consideration such factors as the etymology of the term *paḷḷivēṭṭa* (*paḷḷi* in Malayalam language means 'anything related to royalty'), the performance of the 'royal hunt' just before the ceremonial bath, and considering hunting as a pleasurable activity of the king by Sanskrit authors, Sarma observes: "thus, even though, we do not find a clear relationship between the '*paḷḷivēṭṭa*' and royal consecration rituals, the hunt may be viewed as a pastime of the Lord, when He is compared to an emperor". Still, as Sarma concludes, although the *paddhati*s were composed for the purpose of guiding the temple priests, even in Kerala itself the practice of the royal hunt does not always follow their prescriptions in detail: certain ritual elements are adjusted to the local needs, others are omitted or, on the contrary, stressed.

The main issue of T. Ganesan's paper entitled "Lesser Known Śaiva Initiations: Critical Edition of *Vijñānadīkṣā* Chapter of the Hitherto Unpublished *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, One of the Āgamas of the Śaivasiddhānta Tradition and Its Brief Presentation" is the text believed to be an *upāgama* of the *Cintyāgama*, which served as the source of authority for the authors of numerous ritual manuals and compilations. Besides supplying the critical edition of its *Vijñānadīkṣā* chapter, Ganesan briefly presents the hardly ever discussed Śaiva initiations (*dīkṣā*) attested there. Having explained the general concept of initiatory system in the context of the Śaivasiddhānta tradition, he focuses upon three less attested types of initiation, namely *jñāna-*, *yoga-* and *vijñānadīkṣā*, out of which the last two seem to be unique for the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*.

The article authored by R. Sathyanarayanan, entitled "Five Great Sins (*Mahāpātaka*s) with Special Reference to Śaiva Siddhānta", regards the methods of the expiatory procedures (*prāyaścitta*) as attested by the Smārta and Śaivasiddhānta sources. Having discussed the general features of the *prāyaścitta* as well as different typologies of the deeds that are subjected to expiations, the author demonstrates that there are also significant differences in the treatment of reparatory rites

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as far as the *smṛti* and Śaiva literatures are considered. For example, whereas the former prescribes for this sake various methods of fasting and recitation of Vedic passages, the latter recommends the worship of *maṇḍala*s, *yantra*s, *cakra*s etc. with the help of such seed-*mantra*s as the five BRAHMA-*mantra*s. Also the attitude towards the expiation for the five great sins (*mahāpātaka*) is not the same: although in the context of Vedic sources they seem inexpiable, both Śaiva *āgama*s and the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* allow a sinner to purify, provided he committed the sins unintentionally.

The main concern of Ewa Dębicka-Borek's paper entitled "How to Realize the Four Goals of Life by Means of *mantra*?" are the motives and strategies of the conceptualization of the four human goals, namely *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, in the terms of the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra Tantric practice. For this sake the authoress examines the early layer of the Pāñcarātra literature, mainly the selected passages of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, which quite contrary to the later *saṃhitā*s contains an extensive section dealing with magical rites. In its context, the consecutive *puruṣārtha*s might be realized in a totally ritualistic way: they are achieved according to a wish with a help of supernatural powers (*siddhi*) acquired out of mastering the particular *mantra*, in this case the *mantra* of Narasiṃha. It seems, therefore, that from this point of view the *puruṣārtha*-rites provide the people who were not able to realize the four goals in a traditional way, namely in the course of their life, with a quick method of their fulfillment.

In her paper entitled "When Gods Get Broken—the Theory and Practice of the *jīrṇoddhāra* and *navīkaraṇa* in the Pāñcarātrika Sources", Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz discusses the issue of renovation and replacement of images and temples. This problem, already treated in the *vedāṅga*s, *śilpa*- and *vāstuśāstra*s as well as *purāṇa*s, acquires a new dimension in the context of the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra. As the author points out, the Pāñcarātrika concept of the five modes of a god's existence, where one of them, i.e. *arcāvatāra,* is regarded to be his real presence in the earthly representations, enables the intimate relation between the god and his devotees. Yet, the permanent

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presence of the god might be endangered by the imperfection of his image or the temple he resides in, caused usually either by damage or impurity, and therefore the techniques of dealing with such a spoilt structure have to be secured. Having discussed some terminological problems considering the term *jīrṇoddhāra* (usually translated as 'reconstruction of the damaged') and *navīkaraṇa* (literally: 'making anew/ renovation'), Czerniak-Drożdżowicz quotes and analyses the relevant Pāñcarātrika sources presenting different aspects of broadly-understood renovation: the causes of damages, different treatment of various images and temples according to their origin and particular procedures regarding purifying, renovation or replacing of the damaged images.

The point of departure for the paper of Marion Rastelli, entitled "*Sandhyā* Worship in the 14th Century Pāñcarātra: Theory and Practice?", is a passage found in Veṅkaṭanātha's *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, which says that while performing the *sandhyā*, the Pāñcarātrin is not obliged to follow the *saṃhitā*s of Pāñcarātra, but can follow the prescriptions of the Vedic Sūtras instead. Given that Veṅkaṭanātha devoted the whole first chapter of his work to show that the *saṃhitā*s of Pañcarātra do not contradict the Vedic texts, this particular statement seems ambiguous, even though the author himself gives three reasons for such a possibility: 1) most *saṃhitā*s are lost, 2) no Pañcarātra tradition teaches or follows *sandhyā* prescriptions properly, 3) prescriptions of the Vedic Sūtras fulfil the requirements of the *saṃhitā*s. Posing such questions as whether the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās' prescriptions for the *sandhyā* rites were pure theory at his time? and "what is actually the difference between the Pāñcarātric and the Vedic orthodox manner of *sandhyā* worship?", Rastelli compares and analyses the performance of *sandhyā* as presented by Veṅkaṭanātha himself as well as prescriptions from Vedic Sūtras and from the *saṃhitā*s of Pāñcarātra.

To conclude, the contributors to the present volume of *Cracow Indological Studies* address many crucial issues referring to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava traditions. They present a manifold spectrum of topics, a fact that resulted in the collection of articles showing the unique

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expertise of their authors in many areas of the studies on Tantric traditions of South Asia.

We are very grateful to the contributors for enabling us to publish the results of their research in our journal and we would also like to thank all the reviewers for their invaluable comments.

Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz
Ewa Dębicka-Borek

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JÓZEF LĄCZAK (05.12.1926–21.08.1989)
A Linguist, Specialist in Indo-Iranian, Finno-Ugric and Polish Studies, Teacher, Human

Józef Łączak[1] was born in the village of Książnice near Mielec in the south-east of Poland. He attended elementary school in Mielec in 1942. During the 2nd World War he was forced to work for a year in the Mielec Aircraft Factory. At that time he also continued his high school education in secret courses, a year of trade school and two years of grammar school. After the war, in 1947, he got his secondary school certificate, got married to Marta Krawczyk and started studying Indo-Iranian and Polish philologies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. He studied Sanskrit, Avestan and Dravidian languages with Professor Helena Willman-Grabowska.

He graduated in June 1951 and in September of the same year he got a work order from the authorities, which was a normal procedure at that time, to take the post of Polish teacher at the grammar

[1] His family name was originally spelt Lonczak, but during the 1970s he changed it to Łączak, as he considered this form to correspond more to the phonetic rules and etymology of the Polish language. He thought his name to be of French origin.

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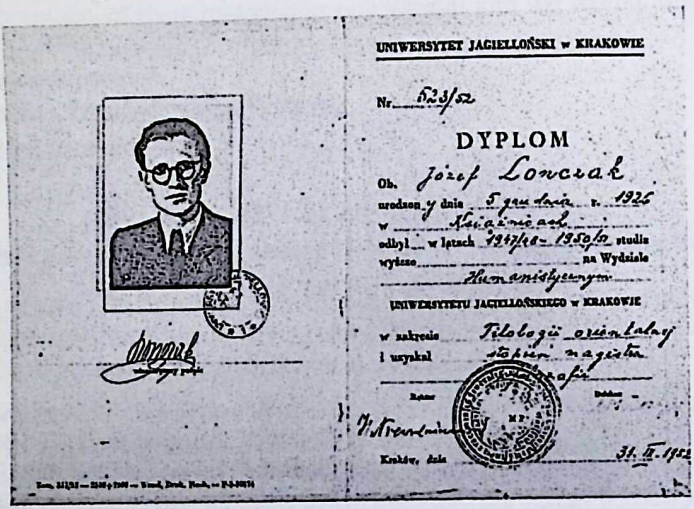
school of Biecz, a small town in the south-east of Poland. In November 1951 he was given a month's leave to take his final examination and get his MA degree in oriental philology.



UNIWERSYTET JAGIELLOŃSKI w KRAKOWIE

Nr. 523/52

DYPLOM

Ob. Józef Lowczak

urodzony dnia 5 grudnia r. 1926

w Kwiatonowicach

odbył w latach 1947/48 - 1950/51 studia

wyższe na Wydziale

Humanistycznym

UNIWERSYTETU JAGIELLOŃSKIEGO w KRAKOWIE

w zakresie Filologii orientalnej

i uzyskał tytuł magistra

Kraków, dnia 31. II. 1952

Certificate of Master's degree

In Biecz he taught his young students not only Polish literature and grammar, as he was supposed to do, but also true facts from Polish history. This probably was the reason for the refusal of the Education Department in Rzeszów to extend his employment in Biecz. From 1952 to 1954 he was a teacher of Polish, Latin, Astronomy and Introduction to Philosophy in two secondary schools in Mielec. In 1953 his eldest son, Krzysztof, was born.

In 1954 he went to Budapest and until August 1961 he was a lecturer in Polish Language and after 1956 also a reader in the History of Polish Literature and Descriptive and Historical Grammar of the Polish Language at the Eötvös Loránd University. The introduction of Polish language courses in the Chair of Slavonic Studies was the result of a personal interest of György (George) Gömöri, who is a renowned poet and translator of Hungarian and Polish literature. György Gömöri

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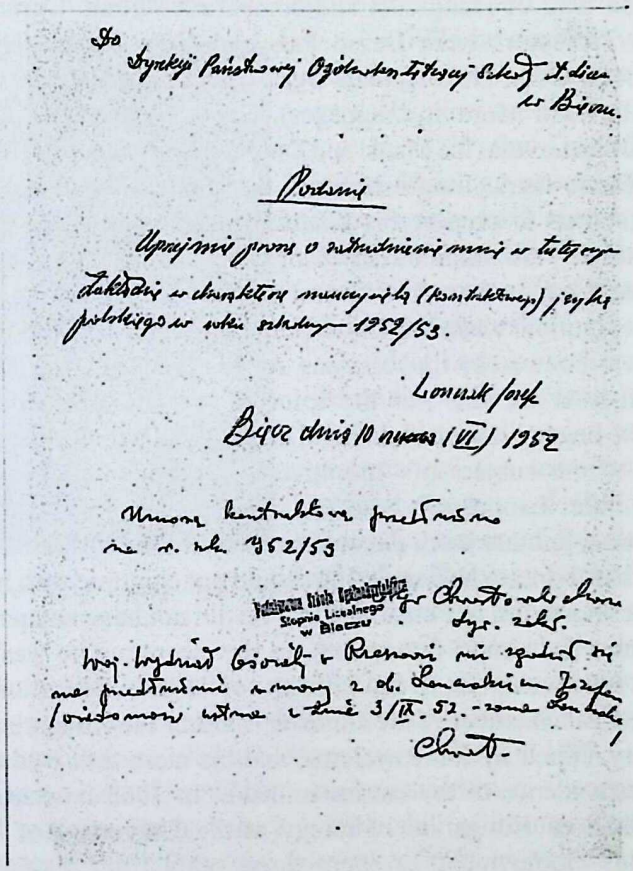
left Hungary after the revolution in 1956, in which he took part, and from 1969 to 2001 he taught Polish and Hungarian literature at the University of Cambridge. At first he was the only student of Józef Łączak.[2]



The application for the renewal of employment in Biecz with the prior acceptance of the school headmaster and the later refusal of the Department of Education in Rzeszów.

[2] Here we would like to acknowledge the willingness of Professor György Gömöri to share his memories of Józef Łączak with us during his stay in Kraków in October 2008.

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During his stay in Budapest Józef Łączak not only focused on his work as a teacher of the Polish language and literature, but also developed his scholarly interests in linguistics and continued his education in the field of Hungarian and comparative Finno-Ugric linguistics. His Professors were Dezsö Pais and Géza Bárczi (Hungarian Linguistics), Ödön Beke (Finno-Ugric Linguistics and the Udmurt, Komi, Mari and Mordvin languages), Gábor Berecki (the Mari language), Ödön Lavota (the Mansi and Estonian languages) and Magdolna Kispál (Finno-Ugric Linguistics and the Finnish language). At that time he started to prepare his doctoral dissertation under Professor Pais, entitled "Assimilation in Hungarian Dialects". Unfortunately the almost completed work was burnt to ashes in 1956 during the Hungarian Revolution, when the Royal Hotel, where the revolution leaders stayed, was bombed by the Russians. As he often reminisced, the only thing left after the fire was the spine of his Hungarian dictionary. In 1959 he began his second doctoral dissertation with Professor Beke, devoted to the subject of "Infinitive and Participial Constructions in the Udmurt Language", however, as he told us, prior to his final examination, another work devoted to this subject was published and in his utmost honesty he decided he should not continue with his work.

After his return to Poland in 1961 he did not have any permanent employment for almost three years. In the meantime he was granted a year's scholarship from the Ministry of Higher Education. Afterwards he was a member of the editorial board of the Hungarian-Polish Dictionary, edited by Jan Reychman and his main task was to check the correspondence of the entries in detail. In 1963 he started work at the Chair of Hungarian Philology at the University of Warsaw. During his employment he spent three years from 1965 to 1968 at the University of Helsinki, where he taught Polish Language and the History of Polish Literature and at the same time continued his studies in the field of Finno-Ugric Linguistics. He studied Finnish Linguistics under Professor Erkki Itkonen, Finnish Morphology under Professor Terho Itkonen, Permic and Samoyedic languages under Professor Aulis Joki, pre-Finnish phonetics under Professor Lauri Posti

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and the Sami language under Professor Mikko Korhonen. In Warsaw he taught general and Finno-Ugric linguistics, descriptive and historic grammar of the Hungarian language, as well as holding a linguistic seminar in Old Hungarian. He resigned from this post in 1972.

A picture of Józef Łączak from his university files

In 1974 he married Ann Maija Reinikainen, with whom he had two sons, Zbigniew and Olaf.

In 1973 the Department of Indian Philology was re-established at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków by Professor Tadeusz Pobożniak, another disciple of Professor Helena Willman-Grabowska.

Józef Łączak was asked to join the staff in 1976. He taught Sanskrit, Vedic, historical and comparative grammar of the Indo-Iranian languages, Avestan and Pali. He was the main author of the curriculum of Indian Philology at the Jagiellonian University, which, for the main part, is still followed. His dream was to incorporate Dravidian studies in which he was also interested and which, after many years, we managed to fulfil. He was the head of the Department of Indian Studies from 1980 until his premature death in 1989.

He was a man of incredible honesty, patriotism, civil courage, kindness and modesty. He had the incredible skill of interspersing his lectures with pieces of information from other fields, as well as anecdotes. One, which has a special place in our memory, was about his refusal to accept a financial award for good work, a fact which got him into trouble with the Communist authorities. As he explained, it was not a form of a protest against the Communist system, as it was regarded, but, simply, in his opinion, he did not deserve any additional money as he was paid his salary for good work only.

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He was an excellent teacher and developed his own innovative method of teaching Sanskrit and other languages. His ability to systemize highly difficult problems became a guideline and model for us, his disciples, in our work with our students.

Mr Łączak was a teacher whose dedication to work was extraordinary. His attitude motivated his students to work extremely hard. It was impossible to attend his classes without being prepared to the best of their ability. He was also willing to sacrifice his time to encourage the specific interest of his students, whom he treated with respect. He changed the curriculum to adjust to them, which cost him additional time for preparing lectures. For example, he ran a three-year course in Avestan for one student only.

The spectrum of his academic interest was very wide and forever growing. As was evident from the outline of his biography above it was mainly linguistics, Indo-Arian, Finno-Ugric, Dravidian, but not only that. As he used to joke he was interested in languages as old as possible or as rare as possible. When a course of Lovari was introduced by Professor Pobożniak in 1984, he was at once the most diligent student. Apart from his linguistic interest he managed to inspire his students to study wider aspects of Indian culture, which resulted in broadening the curriculum of Indian studies later by us as employees of the Department. However, his interests were not only limited to academic ones. He shared with us his recipes for delicious preserves and his love for smithery as well.

He had the ability of passing on his passions and trained many researchers, who work in different universities in Poland and abroad. Most of the senior researchers in the department are greatly indebted to his thorough knowledge of linguistics. However, he was above all a true teacher in each and every sense of the word, who, apart from willingly sharing his extensive academic interests and knowledge, made a significant imprint on our personalities.

He was almost certainly a person who had a great impact on most of us, both on personal and professional levels, a man who we will hold in high esteem and remember fondly for ever.

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The Śaiva Atimārga in the Light of *Niśvāsaguhya* 12.1–22ab*

SUMMARY: My essay investigates a short passage of the *Guhyasūtra*—the longest, most detailed, and arguably youngest of the 'Sūtras' constituting the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, being the earliest Śaiva Tantra known to us. This is formed by verses 1–22ab of Paṭala 12, which single out the soteriological means and goals specific to such scantily documented Śaiva groups as the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas, the followers of the Pramāṇaśāstras, the Kārukas, and the Vaimalas. By categorizing such groups according to their emphasis on conduct, initiation, or gnosis, the text presents a taxonomy of the Atimārga as seen from the perspective of Mantramārga Śaivism. Having compared, and contrasted, this model to analogous ones found scattered over the extant literature of the Śaiva Mantramārga, I tackle the issue as to whether those taxonomies reflect actual social realities or are the result of *post hoc* systematising attempts by medieval authors.

KEYWORDS: *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Guhyasūtra*, *Svacchandatantra*, *Raurava*, *Pāśupatasūtra*, *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, *Ratnaṭīkā*, Sadyojyotis, Rāmakaṇṭha, Kṣemarāja, Pāñcārthika, Pāśupata, Lākula, Kāruka, Vaimala, Pramāṇa, Atimārga, Mantramārga, Alepaka.

Introduction

Surviving in a single 9th-century Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* is arguably the earliest Śaiva Tantra known

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* This contribution is largely based on a much earlier draft presented at the 'Workshop on early Śaivism: The testimony of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*', held at the Pondicherry Centre of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in January 1–15, 2007. I wish to thank Dominic Goodall for inviting me to that Workshop, as well as subsequent ones on the *Niśvāsa*.

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to us. While its five sections or 'Sūtras'—the *Mukha-*, *Mūla-*, *Naya-*, *Uttara-*, and *Guhya-sūtras*—appear to have been composed at different times, the oldest among them, the *Nayasūtra*, has been tentatively dated back to between 450 and 550 AD.[1] Because of its antiquity, and because it describes idiosyncratic doctrines and practices that are rarely—if at all—accounted for in other scriptures, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* is regarded as a source of primary importance for our understanding of early Śaivism. It provides us with a precious testimony of the 'formative' phase of the Mantramārga, i.e. an early form of Saiddhāntika Tantric Śaivism, as well as the earlier Atimārga matrix, i.e. Pāñcārthika Pāśupata and 'Lākula' Śaivism, from which Mantramārga Śaivism has evolved.[2]

Unlike the majority of Siddhāntatantras known to us, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* displays a keen, first-hand awareness of the cosmologies, doctrines and practices of the Śaiva Atimārga. In so doing, it reveals a direct dependence on the textual corpus of the latter tradition—the greatest part of which is irretrievably lost to us. As shown by Sanderson (Sanderson 2001:28, Sanderson 2006:166–175), long portions of Paṭala 4 of the *Niśvāsamukha* and Paṭalas 3–7 of the *Niśvāsaguhya* incorporate descriptions of the Lākula cosmic ladder of worlds and Rudras (*bhuvanādhvan*), which are likely to have been borrowed from a lost Atimārga source. Furthermore, a detailed account of the ascetic observances of the Pāśupatas (*pāśupatavrata*) is given in *Niśvāsamukha* 4.69–97, a section that virtually paraphrases large blocks of the *Pāśupatasūtra* (henceforth PS.).[3]

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[1] See Goodall and Isaacson 2007:6. Besides the *codex unicus* (NGMPP A 41/14 [here Ms]) there exist two 20th-century Nepalese apographs (NAK 5-2406, NGMPP A 159/18 [here K], and Wellcome Library MS Indic δ 41 [here W]), which are often helpful to reconstruct the missing *akṣara*s at the worn-out edges of the original manuscript.

[2] On the categories of Atimārga and Mantramārga Śaivism, and their characterization in the *Mukhasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (henceforth *Niśvāsamukha*), *cf.* especially Sanderson 2006:158–160, 1988:664–667.

[3] Cf. Goudriaan and Gupta 1981:35; Sanderson 2006:158.

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The *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* shows a tendency to intelligently incorporate doctrinal elements from the competing, albeit closely related, Atimārga systems and accommodate them as 'relative truths' existing within the superior doctrinal edifice of the Mantramārga.[4] The elements of continuity with the earlier Atimārga tradition found in several parts of the text indicate that the shift from Atimārga to Mantramārga Śaivism was still 'in the making'. This *status quo* in turn suggests that the text was composed in a historical period in which the traditions of the Atimārga and Mantramārga shared several elements in common and were just beginning to differentiate themselves as distinct, and competing, systems of salvation within the Śaiva stream (*śaivamārga*).

In this essay I shall investigate a short, yet remarkable, passage of the *Guhyasūtra*[5] (henceforth *Niśvāsaguhya*) that has thus far not been discussed in print.[6] This is formed by verses 1–22ab of Paṭala 12, which single out the soteriological means and goals specific to such scantily-documented Śaiva groups as the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas, the followers of the Pramāṇaśāstras (known variously as Lākulas, Mahāvratas, Mahāpāśupatas), the Kārukas (seemingly encompassed by the Pramāṇa system), and the Vaimalas. By categorizing such groups according to their emphasis on religious observance (*caryā*), initiation (*dīkṣā*), or gnosis (*jñāna*), the text presents a typology of the Atimārga as envisaged by the overarching Mantramārga Śaivism.

My main concern here is to show that some of the verses in question display themes that are directly traceable to Pāśupata sources, and,

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[4] What is probably the earliest evidence of this hierarchical system encompassing different Śaiva streams is found in the *Niśvāsamukha*, where the five streams Laukika, Vaidika, Ādhyātmika, Atimārga and Mantramārga are arranged as if having been revealed from the five faces of Sadāśiva—the Mantramārga being the superior one insofar as it springs forth from the upturned face of Īśāna (*cf.* Sanderson 2006:156–157; *infra*, pp. 31, 44).

[5] This is the longest, most detailed, and apparently youngest of the Sūtras constituting the *Niśvāsa* (*cf.* Goodall and Isaacson 2011:125).

[6] With the exception of 17cd–18, which is edited and paraphrased in Sanderson 2001:30, fn. 32.

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even more importantly, that some of the elliptic statements scattered over the verses offer revealing information on the self-perception of the Mantramārga with respect to Atimārga Śaivism. This will hopefully add to the understanding of a poorly documented historical stage of the Śaiva religion.

Overview of *Niśvāsaguhya*, Paṭala 12

The 58 verses of Paṭala 12 (folios 87r6–88r1 of the Nepalese ms.) primarily deal with mantras.[7] The verses may be subdivided into two thematic units. The unit dedicated to practical aspects of 'mantric technology' starts from verse 30, after Nandikeśvara mentions Devī's protracted breath (v. 22)[8] and her pledge to Śiva to provide an exhaustive account of the Brahmamantras (vv. 23–25). The Lord does fulfill her request by explaining the placement of the phonemes of the Sanskrit syllabary (*mātṛkā*) in a *maṇḍala* enthroning Sadāśiva (30–44); the combination of 'male' and 'female' syllables (*yoni*s and *bīja*s, i.e. consonantal and vocalic phonemes), as well as more complex clusters, to realize various kinds of supernatural powers (45–49); the fruits of mantras, and the five *aṅga*s or mantric limbs of Śiva (50–58).

The first unit, up to verse 21, is concerned with a mantric subject insofar as it deals with the five Brahmamantras. However, its main focus is a characterization of the Śaiva (i.e. Mantramārga) system as stemming from the mantric body of Sadāśiva, from which lower divisions (i.e. the Atimārga) also spring up, and which form a constitutive part thereof. The five Brahmamantras themselves function in a way that epitomizes the continuity-cum-change between the former tradition and the latter: they are central and pervasive in the cult of Atimārga

[7] The Paṭalas that immediately precede and follow it also deal with mantric subjects: Paṭala 11 details a version of the Vyomavyāpimantra, whereas Paṭala 13 provides practical instructions for the extraction of the Pañcabrahmamantras.

[8] This will constitute the pretext for illustrating a *nirvacaṇa* of *niśvāsa* ('exhalation', as well as the title of the Tantra) in verses 25–29.

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Śaivism, and yet survive—alongside other even more important mantras, such as the Nāvātman—in the doctrine and practice of Mantramārga Śaivism.[9]

Hereafter I present an edition and translation of verses 1–22ab,[10] which I have subdivided into five thematic sub-units. Each sub-unit is followed by a commentary where I discuss the points of interest in the verses and elaborate on the Śaiva groups they appear to refer to.

Niśvāsaguhya 12.1–6: The Atimārga's Pañcabrahmamantras

ṛṣ[[*ir uvāca*]]
pañcānān tu pavitrāṇām uddhāraṃ[11] *kathayasva me /*
tvaṃ vettā śivaśāstrasya[12] *bhagavan nandikeśvara //* 1
yathā yogañ ca yāgañ ca ekaikasya pṛthakpṛthak[13] */*

---

[9] The five Brahmamantras constitute the early Mantric substratum common to both Atimārga and Mantramārga Śaivism; yet, it is the earliest sources that devote to them the highest attention. For instance, each one of the five sections making up the PS. is closed by an invocation to the aspect of Śiva characterized in the respective Brahmamantra. The five mantras remain central in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, especially in *Niśvāsaguhya* 12–15.

[10] The edition presented here is largely based on the e-text prepared by Goodall et al., which collates the Nepalese manuscript (Ms) and its two apographs (K and W). Here I only use the original Ms, and occasionally supplement the readings from the apographs when useful to fill gaps in the palm-leaf manuscripts (marked by cruxes †…†), enclosing them within double square brackets [[ ]]. Triangular brackets < > enclose conjectural restorations of a portion of text that has been lost because of manuscript damage. Sporadic attempts have been made to emend the non-Pāṇinian, *aiśa*-register of Sanskrit characterizing these verses (and the whole *Niśvāsa*-corpus). Emendations already appearing in the e-text of the preliminary edition are marked as '(e-text)'. The appended translation was first produced during reading classes held at the former Kern Institute of Leiden University from September throughout December 2006, attended by Arlo Griffiths, Dory Heilijgers-Seelen, Raju Bakker and myself, and then thoroughly revised by myself in the course of 2012. Any flaws are, of course, mine alone.

[11] Em. (e-text); *uddhāra* Ms.

[12] Em. (e-text); *śivāśāstrasya* Ms *post corr.*; *śivāśāstrāsya ante corr.*

[13] Em. (e-text); *pṛthakapṛthak* Ms.

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samudāyena ācakṣva sandigdhaṃ niścitaṃ vada // 2
nandikeśvara uvāca
pañcamantramayaṃ devaṃ[14] *pañcamantraśarīriṇam*[15] /
pañcamantra †...† mantra †...† sadāśivam // 3
yat tayātrapadaṃ †haradi...† /
pramāṇe vaimale caiva śaive ca bahudhā sthitam // 4
paramantreṣu yat sādhyaṃ pañcārthajñānaniścitam[16] /
pañcamantrā viditvā tu vidhānaṃ[17] *pratipadyate* // 5
dīkṣā jñānañ ca caryā ca mantrabhūtivinirṇayam /
mantrabhūtārthacaryā[18] *ca rudrasāyojyagāminī* // 6

The Ṛṣi spoke:
Please tell me about the extraction of the five Pavitras. You are the knower of the Śaiva doctrine, o Lord Nandikeśvara. (1)
Explain to me the method and the ritual application[19] of each one individually and collectively. Make clear what is doubtful. (2)
Nandikeśvara spoke:
The god made of five mantras, embodied in five mantras †...† mantras †...† Sadāśiva. (3)
That through which this plain, found multifariously in the Pramāṇa, the Vaimala and the Śaiva [systems] †*haradi* ...†.[20] (4)
What is [still] to be realized in other mantras, is [already] accomplished through the *Pañcārthajñāna*. Upon knowing the five mantras, the prescribed regimen is achieved.[21] (5)
Initiation, gnosis and religious observance, certainty about the supernatural

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[14] Em. (e-text); *deva* Ms.

[15] Ms *post corr.*; *pañcamantraśaṃrīriṇam* Ms *ante corr.*

[16] Em. (one the basis of the apographs); *pañcārthaṃ jñānaniścitam* Ms, e-text.

[17] Em. (e-text); *vidhāna* Ms.

[18] I take this to mean *mantrabhūtyarthacaryā*.

[19] This will constitute the main topic of Paṭala 14. Cf. 14.3: *pañcānāṃ tu pavitrāṇāṃ yāgāṃ vakṣyāmi suvrate / yaṃ yaṣṭvā ca japitvā ca āśuste* [i.e. *āśu te*?] *sarvakāmadāḥ* //.

[20] *Hara* here is most unlikely to be a vocative ('O Hara' [=Śiva]) as Nandikeśvara is reporting the speech of Śiva; in any event, the reconstruction of these syllables is uncertain.

[21] An alternative translation could be the following: 'Whatever might be accomplished with other mantras, is certain [to be attainable] through

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> powers of the [five Brahma]mantras, and religious observance with a view to [obtaining] the power of the [five Brahma]mantras lead to unity with Rudra. (6)

The five opening verses set the agenda of the topics that will be treated in the rest of the passage (up to verse 22ab): the extraction of the Pañcabrahmamantras and their relationship with the different traditions constituting the Śaiva stream.

vv. 3–4: The five Brahmamantras, which form the body of Śiva,[22] are here implicitly linked to the subdivisions of the Atimārga, viz. the Pāñcārthika (i.e. Pāśupata, denoted by the term *pañcārthajñāna*),[23] the 'Pramāṇa system' (including the Lākulas/Mahāvratas and, seemingly, the Kārukas too),[24] and the Vaimala. The fifth member is represented by the Śaiva stream, understood in the narrow sense of (early) Saiddhāntika Śaivism. The five Brahmamantras play

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[the mantras of] the Pañcārtha system. Upon knowing the five mantras, the method for using them is set forth [in the ritual section that follows]'.

[22] The idea that these mantras are connected with the faces (*pañcavaktra*) or aspects of Sadāśiva, and make up His five-limbed mantric body (*pañcamantratanu*), is ubiquitous in Saiddhāntika texts: *cf. Svacchandatantra* 11.43c—45b; *Niśvāsamukha* 3.191c, 4.40c–12b, 4.130, 4.133c–134b; *Mṛgendratantra* Kriyāpāda 8.78—79 and *Vṛtti* thereof; *Mataṅgapārameśvara* Vidyāpāda, *Adhikāratattvaprakaraṇa* 14–15.

[23] The term *Pañcārthajñāna* is used in the *Saṃskāravidhi* (54, *cf.* Acharya 2007:42–43, fn. 95) to indicate the seminal scripture of the Pāśupatas, i.e. the *Pāśupatasūtra*. As Peter Bisschop (2009*) notes, this usage is also attested in a newly recovered manuscript of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*. On the other hand, the author of the *Ratnaṭīkā* apparently uses that term to refer to the philosophical system based on the Sūtras along with the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (*cf.* 1.1ab, p. 3 l. 12; 1. 3, p. 5 l. 28; 1.5cd, p. 9 l. 4). For the meaning of *-jñāna* as 'scripture' in Tantric texts, *cf.* Goodall 1998:xxxvi and 2004:139 fn. 5.

[24] The Kārukas are mentioned *infra* (v. 18b), and indeed we need them in order to fill all the slots of the fivefold Śaiva revelation. Perhaps here they were understood as being subsumed under the 'Pramāṇa system' (like the Lākulas/Mahāvratas, *cf.* Sanderson 2006:169–177 and Bakker 2000:4–7), or their name occurred in the missing portion of the line due to a lacuna in the Ms.

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an important role in each one of the above groups, being the basis of their practices of visualization and worship, and they were also employed in the ritual of initiation.[25]

v. 5: The knowledge of the Brahmamantras leads to *vidhāna* ('method', 'rule'), which here could mean something to the effect of 'prescribed regimen' (of the Pāñcārthika Pāśupata system).[26] The point seems to be that the five *pavitra*s ('purifying formulas', a synonym for Brahmamantras)[27] as taught in the Pāñcārtha system are (even from the vantage point of the Mantramārga) superior to, or in any event as effective as, the mantras taught by different systems.

v. 6: *dīkṣā*, *jñāna* and *caryā* are the three fundamental 'ingredients' in the 'recipe' leading to salvation according to both Atimārga and Mantramārga Śaivism. The factor that differentiates one group from the other is the emphasis laid on one or the other element(s) at the expense of the other(s). The goal of unity with Rudra (*rudrasāyojya*, equivalent to *rudrasāyujya*) is a feature of the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas—for according to this system Rudra is the supreme deity and highest principle of the universe, standing at the top of the twenty-five *tattva*s defined by Sāṅkhya ontology—and, more generally, of Atimārga groups such as the followers of the Pramāṇas, which added an extended hierarchy of Rudras and cosmic stations.

Niśvāsaguhya 12.7–8: The Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas

bhikṣā caryā yamādiś ca bhasmasnānajapakriyā /
aṣṭāṅgabrahmacaryañ ca ā dehapatanā<d eva>[28] *// 7*

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[25] Cf. e.g., *Niśvāsamukha* 4.88 (discussed in Sanderson 2006:190), attesting to the central role of these mantras in the Lākula initiation.

[26] Compare the *vidhi* mentioned in Pāñcārthika Pāśupata texts, which is often understood as a synonym of *caryā*, the practice of the prescribed regimen or 'good conduct' comprising the observances of *bhasmasnāna*, etc.

[27] For the *pañcapavitra*s as *pañcabrahma*s, *cf. Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.7 (p. 17 l. 27, p. 18 l. 14, p. 19 l. 1).

[28] Conj.; *ā dehapatanā<ntikam>* conj. Sanderson (e-text). I opt for the ablative construction *ā dehapatanād* since it is attested in both

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<ṣaḍaṅ>genopahāreṇa triṣkālam[29] *anuvarttinā /*
yajñadānakriyādīni[30] *manasā vinikalpayet //* 8

The religious observance[31] [of the Pāśupatas is] mendicancy and the principal commandments etc., the ritual of bathing in ash and muttering, as well as the eightfold celibacy until the end of the body. (7)
Attending[32] the three times of the day through the sixfold offerings, [the Pāśupata practitioner] should mentally carry out the acts of sacrifice, giving, and so forth. (8)

Among the systems mentioned in vv. 4–5, the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas are dealt with first. As such, they stand at the bottom of the Śaiva hierarchy as the lowest category of practitioners, whose practices are *per se* valid, yet not powerful enough to grant the level of liberation accorded to the followers of more advanced Śaiva doctrines.

The account shows a keen awareness of the Pāśupata doctrinal milieu as it describes a set of observances and doctrinal items that correspond to those laid out in the original sources that have survived, namely the PS. with the commentary attributed to Kauṇḍinya (*Pañcārthabhāṣya*), and the commentary (*Ratnaṭīkā*), attributed to Bhāsarvajña (or Haradattācārya), on the *Gaṇakārikā*. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the author of this section of the *Niśvāsaguhya* either had a first-hand knowledge of the above mentioned texts, or in any event was sufficiently conversant with the philosophical and soteriological tenets of the Pāñcārthika system as they filtered into his milieu.

v. 7: The items enumerated here are part of the curriculum of the Pāśupata adept in the first stage of his ascetic career, as described

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the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* and *Ratnaṭīkā* (*cf. infra,* p. 16), and is also commonly encountered in the Epics and Purāṇas (however, it is slightly unmetrical as the metre requires a penultimate short syllable here).

[29] Ms. has *tṛṣkālam*, as at many other places in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.

[30] Em.; Ms seems to read *yajñādānakriyādīni*.

[31] For *caryā* as 'prescribed regimen' (*vidhi*) of the Pāśupatas, *cf.* my fn. 26 and my comments to this verse below.

[32] I interpret *anuvarttinā* as an *aiśa* nominative singular (m.c.?).

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in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra*s 1.8–9. The entire verse indeed echoes a passage of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (ad *sūtra* 5.30, p. 129 ll. 9–11) characterizing that stage:

> *tatrādidharmā apy asya tāvad āyatane vasaty arthaḥ vṛttir bhaikṣyaṃ balam aṣṭāṅgaṃ brahmacaryam kriyāḥ snānahasitādyāḥ*[33] *snānaṃ kaluṣāpohaḥ śuddhiḥ jñānāvāptiḥ akaluṣatvaṃ ca lābhā iti*
>
> The factors when he is in the first stage are as follows: the dwelling place is in a temple; the way of livelihood is alms; the power is the eightfold chastity, the actions are such as bathing (in ashes), laughter, etc.; the purity is the removal of impurity; the attainments are the attainment of knowledge and freedom from impurity. (Trans. Hara 2002:176)

—*bhikṣā*: This technical term may stand for the practice of begging for alms, i.e. *bhaikṣyam*, as outlined in several passages of *Pañcārthabhāṣya* and *Ratnaṭīkā*.[34]

—*caryā*: This term, along with *kriyā* and *vidhi*, is used in the sense of 'proper ritual' or 'prescribed regimen' in Pāśupata literature.

—*yamādiś ca ... ā dehapatanā<d eva>*: The *yama*s or general commandment are an integral part of the Pāśupata observance. They number ten, including the five *niyama*s (as opposed to Sāṅkhya and Yoga, which separate the five *yama*s from the five *niyama*s). According to the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 1.9 (p. 26 l. 7), the ten *yama*s should be practised at all times, for there is no cessation of them up to the time of death (***ā dehapātād yamānāṃ na nivṛttir asti***). An analogous view is found in the *Ratnaṭīkā*.[35] This verse

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[33] Em. Hara (2002:176); *sthāna*° ed.

[34] Cf., e.g., *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 1.2 (p. 8 l. 21) *grāmādibhyo bhaikṣyavad bhasmārjanaṃ kartavyam*; 1.9 (p. 31 l. 12) ***cāturvarṇyaṃ cared bhaikṣyam*** *patitāṃs tu vivarjayet*; 5.14 (p. 118 ll. 18–19) *tac ca nagaragrāmādibhyo gṛhād gṛhaṃ paryaṭato bhakṣyabhojyādīnām anyatamaṃ yat prāpyate kṛtānnādivacanād* ***bhaikṣyam***; *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.2 (p. 4 l. 20 to p. 5 l. 18).

[35] Cf. *Ratnaṭīkā ad kārikā* 1.6cd (p. 17 l. 4): ***ā dehapātāt*** *tatraivānirgacchatā stheyam ityayaṃ viśeṣaḥ* [...]; *Yamaprakaraṇa* v. 4, App.

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seems to imply that not only the commandments, but the wider set of practices characterizing the Pāśupata observance, should be carried out up to the practitioner's death.

—*bhasmasnānajapakriyā*: Ash-bathing and muttering are distinctively Pāśupata practices. The two items are specifically linked to the Pāśupatas—whose highest goal is the cosmic station of Īśvara—in two passages of the *Svacchandatantra*:[36]

> ***vrataṃ pāśupataṃ divyaṃ ye caranti jitendriyāḥ /***
> ***bhasmaniṣṭhā japadhyānās te vrajanty eśvaraṃ padam*** // 10.1169
> ***japabhasmakriyāniṣṭhās te vrajanty aiśvaraṃ padam*** // 11.74cd

—*aṣṭāṅgabrahmacarya*: The 'eightfold celibacy', or 'eightfold religious studentship', is a technical term of the Pāśupata system. It appears in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (ad *sūtra* 1.9 and 5.30) and the *Ratnaṭīkā* (ad *kārikā* 1.3), where it is mentioned as a prerogative of the Pāśupata adept in his first stage of ascetic practice. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 1.9 presents a (seemingly incomplete) list enumerating the actions of 'standing [in the presence of the master]' (*utthāna*), 'rising from one's seat [when he approaches]' (*pratyutthāna*), 'salute [him] respectfully' (*abhivādana*), etc.[37]

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1 on *Ratnaṭīkā*: ***daśaivādehapatanāt pañcārthe yoginām yamāḥ.***

[36] Note, however, that verse 10.1169 is taken by Kṣemarāja as referring to the Lākulas (*cf. infra*, p. 25).

[37] Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 1.9 (p. 27 ll. 13–14): ***aṣṭāṅgaṃ brahmacaryaṃ*** [...] *tadyathā utthānapratyutthānābhivādanagurukāryahitakārī* // 'The eightfold celibacy [...] namely standing [in the presence of the master], rising from one's seat [when he approaches], salute [him] respectfully, adoring the master, doing services [for him], [...]'. The list enumerates only three behaviors to be observed by the disciple, then continues with a seemingly additional series of behaviours and qualities of the disciple. This leads to the suspicion that a portion of text has gone missing between the first list and the second. Note that a series beginning with *utthāna* and *pratyutthāna* is regarded by the *Ratnaṭīkā* (on *kārikā* 1.7) as part of *kriyā*.

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On the other hand, the same text ad *sūtra* 5.30[38] refers to *aṣṭāṅgaṃ brahmacaryam* when defining the item 'power' (*bala*)—a view that is in harmony with the interpretation given by *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.3,[39] which understands *aṣṭāṅgabrahmacārya* as defining the eight intellectual qualities mentioned in connection with the power (*bala*) of devotion (*bhakti*), itself one of the eight *vāsa*s ('impregnating oneself with doctrine' or 'living by a teacher').[40]

v. 8ab: The first *pāda*, *<ṣaḍaṅ>genopahāreṇa*, contains a clear reference to the sixfold Pāśupata regimen of worship during the first ascetic stage. The lacuna in the text may therefore be nicely filled accordingly. Here *upahāra*, 'offering', functions as the standard technical term used in Pāśupata literature to denote the six acts of devotion to Rudra, namely (the offering of) laughter, song, dance, bellowing, adoration, and muttering of the five Brahmamantras.[41] The scriptural basis for such acts is the injunction found in PS. 1.8:

> *hasitagītanṛttahuḍukkāranamaskārajapyopahāreṇopatiṣṭhet*[42]
>
> One must serve with offering of laughter, song, dance, bellowing, inner worship and prayer.

The compound *ṣaḍaṅgopahāra* itself occurs in *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.7 (p. 19 ll. 4–7), where it refers to the six acts:

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[38] Quoted *supra*, p. 16.

[39] Cf. *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.3 (p. 6 ll. 9–10): *yato balam **aṣṭāṅgaṃ brahmacaryam ity asyāyam arthaḥ** //*, and further lines 11–15.

[40] Cf. Hara 1958:15, fn. 49. The eight intellectual qualities are *grahaṇa*, *dhāraṇa*, *ūha*, *apoha*, *vijñāna*, *vacana*, *kriyā*, and *yathānyāyābhiniveśa*.

[41] Compare, with some slight differences, *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 40, 1.11: *nivedya nirmālyagandhahārī hāsagītavādanādyupahārān //*. Bisschop and Griffiths (2003:327, fn. 58) suggest that *nirmālyagandhadhārī* could be a corruption or conscious revision for *nirmālyaliṅgadhārī*.

[42] °*huḍuk* conj. (compare *Ratnaṭīkā* p. 19 ll. 4–6 and *Niśvāsamukha* 1.153b); °*ḍuṃḍuṃ* Ed. (probably a silent emendation of °*huḍuk* by the editor, as suggested by Bisschop and Griffiths 2003:327, fn. 59); °*huḍḍuṅ* conj. Sanderson (2001:30, fn. 32); °*huḍuṃ* conj. Bisschop (2009*).

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> *dhyāyann īśaṃ hasitagītanṛtyahuḍukkāranamaskārajapyaiḥ*
> *ṣaḍaṅgopahāraṃ bhagavan mahādeva yuṣmadanujñayā* ***nirvartitavān***
> *aham avabhṛthasnānaṃ ca kariṣyāmīty evaṃ nivedayet*
>
> Meditating upon the Lord, he should declare thus: 'O Lord Mahādeva, with your consent I have performed the acts consisting of six parts, [namely] laughter, song, dance, bellowing, inner worship and prayer, and [now] I will carry out the purificatory bath'.

—*triṣkālam anuvarttinā*: The occurrence of *nirvartitavān* (*nir-√vṛt*) in the above passage in connection with the *upahāra*s calls to mind the odd form—an instrumental seemingly understood as a nominative—*anuvarttinā* (*anu-√vṛt*) in *pāda* b of our verse. That all the six acts of worship had to be performed in close temporal connection with three 'bathing-times' (the three daily *sandhyā*s)[43] results evidently, besides from the passage quoted above, also from *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 1.8 (p. 13 ll. 9–10):

> *atha* ***triṣu snānakāleṣu*** *sadyojātādisaṃskṛtena bhasmanā japatā snātvā japataivāyatanam abhigantavyam* [...]
>
> First, at the three bathing times, having bathed with ashes purified by the mantras Sadyojāta etc., and while still muttering, he should go to the temple.

The six acts are then described one by one in the portion of text following thereupon. The whole line 8ab of our section indeed echoes a passage of the *Niśvāsamukha* (1.153b–154ab), whose context is apparently the *pāśupatavrata*:

> [...] *tantrīvādyasya vādakaḥ /*
> *huḍukkārasya nṛtyasya mukhavādyāṭṭahāsayoḥ //* 153
> ***triṣkālaṃ*** *caiva kurvāṇo bhaved gaṇaḥ*[44] *sa cottamaḥ /*
>
> [...] The performer of lute-music, of the sound *huḍuk*, of the dance, of the mouth-sound and boisterous laughter, and he who performs for three

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[43] Cf. PS. 1.2 and *Bhāṣya* thereof (p. 8 l. 24 to 9 l. 5): *bhasmanā triṣavaṇaṃ snāyīta // triṣavaṇam iti // [...] pūrvasaṃdhyā madhyāhnasaṃdhyā aparasaṃdhyeti saṃdhyātrayam // triṣavaṇaṃ trisaṃdhyaṃ* ***trikālam*** *ity arthaḥ //.*

[44] Em.; Ms *gaṇa*.

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times in a day the uttering of *huḍuk*, dance, drumming with the mouth and boisterous laughter, he becomes an excellent attendant [of Rudra].

Compare also *Niśvāsaguhya* 9.8cd, referring to a Pāśupata practitioner:[45]

***triṣkālam** arcayed devaṃ **triṣkālasnānam** ācaret //*

One should worship God [through the six acts] three times [a day]; one should carry out [ash-]bathing during the three times [of the day].

v. 8cd: The final half-verse contains a terminology that is reminiscent of Pāśupata themes. The pair *dāna* and *yajña* (both defined as *kriyās*) recalls the pair of technical terms *atidāna* ('transcendental giving') and *atiyajana* ('transcendental sacrifice') mentioned in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad PS. 2.15 (*atidattam atīṣṭam*), as well as in *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *Gaṇakārikā* 1.7. In both texts the pair is further supplemented by a third element, *atitapas* ('transcendental asceticism'),[46] which in our verse might be implied by the °*ādi* in the compound *yajñadānakriyādīni*. The emphasis laid on the mental aspect of giving and sacrifice through the word *manasā* in our verse would seem to carry the same force of the prefix *ati*° ('transcendental') occurring in *atidāna*, *atiyajana*, and *atitapas*. The *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (p. 68 ll. 3–21), in replying to the question as to how many divisions there are in performing good, quotes *sūtra* 2.15 and interprets it as referring to the offering of oneself (*ātmapradāna*) as opposed to the offering of

[45] The sectarian allegiance of the practitioner can be argued, apart from the reference to bathing (in ashes), from his being characterized as *japahomarato nityaṃ* in 9.8a, which calls to mind the *japadhyānaparo nityaṃ* in *Niśvāsamukha* 4.76cd—itself manifestly referring to a Pāśupata adept. The reading °*homa*° in *Niśvāsaguhya* 9.8a is suspicious, for sacrificial fire (*homa*) was forbidden to the Pāśupata adept but prescribed for the adept of the Śaiva Mantramārga. It might be a corruption, or ex-post revision, for °*dhyāna*°. For *japa* and *dhyāna* as constitutive elements of the Pāśupata regimen, *cf. Gaṇakārikā* 1.7.

[46] A short study dedicated to this triad may be found in Hara 2002:47–55.

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material objects,[47] and as involving the giving of the six acts, which form *vidhikriyā*, in contrast to the offering of Vedic sacrifices.[48] The *Bhāṣya* goes on to list the third means, *atitapas* (PS. 2.16, *atitaptaṃ tapas tathā*), explaining it as an eminently mental form of asceticism.[49]

Niśvāsaguhya 12.9–12ab: The Pramāṇa System (Lākula and Kārukas?)

mantrasūtrāṇi vidyāni rudrāś ceti catuṣṭayam /
bhasmasnānañ ca śaucañ ca upahāran[50] *tathaiva ca //* 9

---

[47] Compare *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.7 (p. 17 ll. 27–28): *pañcasu pavitreṣv āvartyamāneṣu daśabhir namaskāraiḥ parameśvarāyātmasamarpaṇaṃ dānam*, 'Giving (*dāna*) is to surrender one's self to Parameśvara by means of ten sorts of reverence (*namaskāra*) in the course of reciting the five purifying prayers (*pavitra*)'. Note that recitation (*japya*) of the five Brahmamantras is regarded as a mental operation by the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 1.8 (in the section coming right after the explanation of the six acts): *mānasaṃ tu namaskaraṇaṃ namaskāraḥ* (p. 14 l. 4), 'Salutation is mental salutation', *japyaṃ nāma sadyojātādiṣv akṣarapaṅktyāṃ* ***manasā*** *bhāvasya saṃcāravicāraḥ.* (p. 14 ll. 6–7), 'Recitation is reflecting on, and going through, with the mind, the nature [embodied] in the sequence of syllables of [the mantras] Sadyojāta, etc.'. Compare *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.7 (p. 18 ll. 29–30): *atra* ***japanamaskārau mānasāv*** *eva.*

[48] *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 2.15 (p. 68 ll. 18–19): ***atiyajanaṃ*** *nāma yadāyatane loke vā // tatrāyatane* ***snānahasitādyā*** *loke ca krāthanaspandanādyā* ***vidhikriyā*** *//.*

[49] Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 2.16 (p. 69 ll. 4–6): *nāyānty ādhyātmikādhibhautikādhidaivikās teṣāṃ svaśāstroktena krameṇa* ***manasi*** *saṃmatānāṃ matānām anupāyataḥ pratīkāram akurvatāṃ tapo niṣpadyate*, 'Asceticism being produced within those who endure in mind (*manasi*) the sufferings arising from the self, from the outside world, and from fate, without resort to external means, in conformity with the manner prescribed in their own scripture' (trans. Hara 2002:50–51). Regrettably, the text is corrupt and lacunose. Compare *Ratnaṭīkā* ad *kārikā* 1.7 (p. 18, l. 3) and *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 1.9 (p. 25.6–10—note the occurrence of *manasi*).

[50] Em.; *upasaṃhāran* Ms (unmetrical).

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kapālaṅ[51] *caiva khaṭvāṅgaṃ*[52] *bhasmavāsaṅ ca sarvadā /*
cāturvarṇikabhaikṣyaṅ ca vastavyaṃ vijane vane // 10
jñānānveṣī śive bhakti yogadhyānaparāyaṇaḥ[53] */*
e<kākī> brahmacaryaṃ ca yathālabdhena varttayet // 11
evaṅ carati vidvān so jitakrodho jitendriyaḥ / 12ab

Mantras, Sūtras, Vidyās, Rudras: thus is the tetrad. Then the bath in ashes and the purification, as well as the offerings. (9)
[Bearing] the skull, the skull-staff and the ash-dress at all times, taking alms from people of all four classes [is to be adopted]; residence should be taken in a depopulated forest. (10)
Devoted to Śiva, striving for knowledge, excelling in Yoga and Meditation. Alone, he should [observe] celibacy and survive with whatever he has at hand. (11)
Thus that sage goes about, with anger and senses subdued. (12ab)

Various elements in the above verses suggest that the focus has shifted from a Pāñcārthika Pāśupata milieu to a Pramāṇa-Pāśupata one, which presumably encompassed the Mahāvratas/Kapālavratins, as well as the Kārukas.[54]

v. 9ab: Although we do not know from any other scriptures about a standard tetrad formed by Mantras, Sūtras, Vidyās, and Rudras, these elements appear to represent a series of additional doctrines and practices added by post-Pāñcārthika Pāśupata groups on top of the Pāñcārthika core doctrines and observances. 'Mantras' here might refer to the Pañcabrahmamantras; 'Sūtras' to the PS. and/or an additional corpus of scriptures, such as the Pramāṇaśāstras;[55] 'Vidyās' to a series

[51] Corr. (e-text); *kapālaṃñ* Ms.

[52] Corr. (e-text); *khaṭvāga* Ms.

[53] Corr. (e-text); *yogadhyānaparāyanaḥ* Ms.

[54] The latter group will be mentioned further down in v. 18b. Cf. Sanderson 2006:170–179, discussing, among other passages, *Niśvāsamukha* 4.128–129ab: *kapālavratam āśritya dhruvaṃ gacchanti tatpadam / lokātītaṃ samākhyātaṃ mahāpāśupataṃ vratam // prakṛiyāsu ca saṃyukto dhruvaṃ gacchati tatpadam /* (Dhruva being the Rudra in the cosmic level aimed at by the followers of the Pramāṇaśāstras, as well as (according to some sources) by the Vaimalas; *cf. infra*).

[55] The existence of this lost corpus of scriptures is suggested by second-hand accounts found in Mantramārga sources. The only original passage

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of prescribed mantras and spells;[56] and 'Rudras' to the extended series of Rudra-manifestations and Rudra-worlds, correlated to the ladder of *tattva*s in the pure section of the Śaiva cosmos, worshiped by the adherents to the Pramāṇa system.[57]

vv. 9cd–10ab: As we know from other accounts scattered over the Mantramārga corpus, there existed a continuity between the Pramāṇa-Pāśupatas and the Pāśupatas proper insofar as the former adopted many of the observances of the latter, such as bathing in ashes (*bhasmasnāna*) for the purpose of purification (*śauca*), and the six 'offerings' (*upahāra*), to which they however added an extra set of even more extreme observances such as the bearing of the skull-vessel (*kapāla*), the staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), and the perpetual (*sarvadā*) ash-smear (*bhasmavāsa*).[58] Insofar as they were following such a regimen, called great observance (*mahāvrata*), the Mahāvratas aimed at emulating the expiatory penance of Śiva the Brahmin-slayer, and in so doing ultimately look like living portions of Rudra (*rudrāṃśa*), their *iṣṭadevatā*.[59]

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to have survived is a seven-verse fragment of the *Pañcārthapramāṇa*, quoted by Kṣemarāja (first half of the 11th century AD) in his commentary ad *Svacchandatantra* 1.41–43, which contains an analysis of the *aghoramantra*; *cf.* Sanderson 2006:169–176.

[56] Such is the standard usage of the word in Śaiva Tantric texts of the Mantramārga. Also note the class of semi-divine beings known as Vidyādharas or Siddhas, who are often associated with magic and antinomian practices reminiscent of those carried out by the post-Pāñcārthika Pāśupata groups.

[57] Cf. Sanderson 2006:170–176, 200–202, and Bakker 2000:2–6.

[58] Cf. the description of a Mahāvratin given by *Niśvāsamukha* 4.88–89: *ālabdhaḥ pañcabhir guhyair dīkṣitaś caiva so bhramet / khaṭvāṅgī ca kapālī ca sa jaṭī muṇḍam eva vā // vālayajñopavītā ca śiromuṇḍaiś ca maṇḍitaḥ / kaupīnavāso bhasmāṅgī divyābharaṇa*[[*bhūṣitaḥ*]] //.

[59] As it is alluded to in *Niśvāsaguhya* 3.30–33, where a practitioner of the *mithyāvrata* falsely accuses himself of having killed, among others, a Brahmin; and who his said to bear *kapāla*, *khaṭvāṅga* and permanent ash-smear; to dance, sing and laugh like a madman; and to spend his nights in a cremation-ground (*cf.* Sanderson 2001:31 fn. 5, and 2006:209).

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v. 10cd: *caturvarṇikabhaikṣyaṃ*: Mendicancy among people of the four classes is prescribed in the PS. for the Pāśupata practitioner during the first stage of his ascetic practice, while the injunction of taking residence in a depopulated forest (*vijane vane*) would seem to refer rather to the third stage, when he should live in solitude in an empty house or a cave (*śūnyāgāraguhāvāsī*, PS. 5.9). This entails no contradiction, however, as in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 5.30 *bhaikṣyaṃ* is prescribed also to the Pāśupata in his third stage: 'The dwelling place is an empty house or cave; the way of livelihood is alms' (trans. Hara 2002:177), *tathā vasaty arthaḥ śūnyāgāraguhā vṛttir bhaikṣyaṃ*.

v. 11ab: *jñānānveṣī śive bhakti yogadhyānaparāyaṇaḥ*: The characterization of a practitioner as carrying out visualization and yoga (intended as 'union'), totally and constantly absorbed in Śiva (i.e. Rudra), calls to mind a Pāśupata practitioner in his fourth and fifth stage of asceticism. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 5.27, quoting from an unknown scripture:

> *ākṛtim api parihṛtya dhyānaṃ nityaṃ pare rudre / yena prāptaṃ yoge muhūrtam api tat paro yogaḥ*
>
> That union by which the constant visualization of the highest Rudra, albeit devoid of aspect, is obtained even for an instant, that is the highest union.

Compare *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 5.30, where visualization (*dhyāna*), constant union with God (*devanityatā*), and victory over the senses (*jitendriyatva*)[60] are attributed to the fourth stage of the Pāśupata practice:

> *kriyā adhyayanadhyānādyā ajitendriyavṛttitāpohaḥ śuddhiḥ lābhas tu devanityatā jitendriyatvaṃ ceti //*
>
> The actions are repetition and meditation etc.; the purity is the removal of the vice of possessing uncontrolled bodily organs in activity; the attainment is the state of being constantly associated with God and the control over one's bodily organs.

[60] This is mentioned *infra* in our passage, *pāda* 12b.

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Victory over the senses (*jitendriya*) is a quality attributed to the practitioner in the third stage too (*cf.* PS. 5.11, *jitendriyo*). This adjective occurs in *Niśvāsaguhya* 3.33,[61] a passage describing the Pāśupata *gaṇavrata*, as well as in *Svacchandatantra* 10.1169,[62] a verse describing the practitioners of the Īśvara-leading *pāśupatavrata*, but which is understood by the commentator Kṣemarāja as referring to the Lākulas rather than to the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas. It may be argued indeed that stress on a constant and extreme form of Rudra-worship was peculiar to the post-Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas carrying out the Mahāvrata. This extreme form of *rudrabhakti* clearly emerges from a passage of the *Niśvāsamukha* (4.90–91ab) characterizing a follower of the *lokātītavrata*:

> *jagad rudramayaṃ matvā rudrabhakto dṛḍhavrataḥ /*
> *sarvādaḥ sarvaceṣṭaś ca rudradhyānaparāyaṇaḥ //*
> *rudraṃ muktvā na cānyo 'sti trātā me devataṃ param /*
>
> Being devoted to Rudra, steadfastly practicing his observances, eating everything (i.e. whatever is at hand), carrying out all [the prescribed] behaviours, and addicted to the visualization of Rudra, he thinks: 'The whole Universe is entirely made of Rudra; there is none besides Rudra, the highest God, my saviour!'

v. 11c: *e<kākī>*: Conjecturally reconstructed on account of the solitary character of the Pāśupata observance in the third and fourth stage, as characterized in PS. 4.6 and *Bhāṣya* thereon (p. 97 ll. 6–7):

> *unmattavad **eko** vicareta loke*
> [...] ***eka** ity asaṃvahatā cintyate // ekenetarebhyo vicchinnenāsahāyenety arthaḥ //*
>
> He must wander about by himself like a madman.
> [...] 'By himself' is conceived of as being unaccompanied. The meaning conveyed by the word 'by himself' is that he is without others, without companions.

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[61] *bhasmāṅgī cīravāsaś ca gaṇavratam idaṃ smṛtam / japayukto bhaikṣabhujo loṣṭuśāyī **jitendriyaḥ** //.*

[62] Quoted *supra*, p. 17.

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v. 11d: *yathālabdhena varttayet*: The dietary regimen consisting of whatever one can find is prescribed in PS. 5.32, and attributed by the *Bhāṣya* (p. 131 ll. 8–10) to the fourth stage of the *pāśupatavrata*:

> ***yathālabdhopajīvakaḥ labhate rudrasāyujyam***
> [...] ***tad yathālabdham annapānaṃ śmaśānād anirgacchatā divase divase jīvanāya sthityarthaṃ***
> ***tadupajīvan yathālabdhopajīvako bhavatīty arthaḥ***
>
> Surviving on whatever he may find, he obtains unity with Rudra.
> [...] Thus, living on whatever food and drink he may find, [merely] for daily survival, without his going out from the cremation ground, he becomes 'one who survives on whatever food he may find'.

Compare *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 5.30 (pp. 129 l. 18 to 130 l. 2), briefly characterizing the fourth stage as follows:

> ***tathehāpi śmaśāne vasatyarthaḥ vasan dharmātmā // yathālabdham iti vṛttiḥ kriyā smṛtiḥ asmṛtyapohaḥ śuddhiḥ lābhas tu sāyujyam //***
>
> Similarly, here [in the fourth stage]: the dwelling place is in a cremation ground; the power is the possession of merit of one's own; the way of livelihood is food acquired by chance; the action is mindfulness (of God); the purity is the removal of failure of mindfulness (of God); the attainment is conjunction (with God). (Trans. Hara 2002:177)

Here *smṛti* is likely to be used as a synonym of *dhyāna*; *sāyujyam* denotes the highest goal of union (*yoga*) with the Lord.

v. 12ab: *vidvān so*: The epithet 'wise', rather than being a cliché, could have retained the technical meaning it has in Pāśupata literature. For instance, in the series of verses closing the prose commentary of *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 5.30 (p. 130 l. 5), we find the following statement:

> ***yas tu budhyati pañcārthe sa vidvān nātra saṃśayaḥ //***
>
> One who knows the five categories is a wise man; there is no doubt about that.

The expression *sa vidvān* recalls the synonymous *vidvān so* in our *pāda* 12a, and may thus hint at a 'knower of the Pañcārtha system'. On the other hand, the word *vidvān* in the meaning of 'Brahmin'

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is attested in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (p. 88 ll. 15–16) ad *sūtra* 3.19:[63] 'Knowledge (*vidyā*) is the distinguishing mark of a Brahmin, consisting in the clarification of the meanings of the words found in the scriptures' (*vidyā nāma yā granthārthavartipadārthānām abhivyañjikā vipratvalakṣaṇā*).

Niśvāsaguhya 12.12cd–13ab: The Vaimalas

vaimalācāryadīkṣā[64] *ca śivasāyojyam ucyate* // 12cd
jñānacaryā ahiṃsā ca śivasāyojyatāṃ vrajet / 13ab

And the initiation by a master of the Vaimalas is known as Unity with Śiva.[65] (12cd)
[By] ascetic regimen, gnosis and non-violence [the Vaimala adept] will proceed to Unity with Śiva. (13ab)

This interesting, albeit rather elliptic, statement about the Vaimalas seems to be an attempt at distinguishing them from the Pramāṇa-Pāśupatas characterized in the preceding verses 9–12ab. The *ca* ('and') in the first line would seem to imply that the Vaimalas too carried out the above-mentioned observances, yet they added a '*dīkṣā* imparted by a Vaimalācārya', as well as an element of gnosis (*jñāna*). Even if the alternative translation 'The Vaimalas [say] that Unity with Śiva is known as initiation and ascetic regimen' is chosen, the stress here still seems to be on a special kind of *dīkṣā* that was associated with the Vaimalas. This may also be inferred by the fact that, as the verse seems to imply, this *dīkṣā* leads to unity with Śiva instead of unity with

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[63] *paribhūyamāno hi vidvān kṛtsnatapā bhavati*: 'For a wise man, being ill-treated, accomplishes thereby all asceticism'.

[64] Conj.; *vaimalācaryadīkṣā* Ms.

[65] Following my proposed emendation of *vaimalācaryadīkṣā* into *vaimalācāryadīkṣā*. If we take *carya* as a shortened version of *caryā* (to suit the *pathyā* cadence) and *vaimalā* as an elliptical use of plural (with *visarga* dropped) to introduce their point of view, an alternative translation could be: 'The Vaimalas [say] that Unity with Śiva is known as initiation and ascetic regimen'. This translation, however, is at odd with the fact that *caryā* is already featured in line 13ab.

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Rudra—Śiva being superior to Rudra, the paramount aspect of Śiva worshiped by the Atimārga, from the perspective of the Mantramārga.

Niśvāsaguhya 12.13cd–22ab: The fourfold Atimārga and the superiority of the Mantramārga

jñānenaiva tu[66] *śaivānām dīkṣā yā ca viśiṣyate* // 13cd
śivabhakti japo yajña dhyānaṃ prāṇanirodhanam /
evam eva samākhyātā pañcamantravidhi[[*s tu yaḥ*]][67] // 14
sadāśivamukhodgīrṇṇaṃ[68] *mokṣamārgaprakāśakam* /
jñātvā pāśupataṃ jñānaṃ pañcamantreti pañcadhā // 15
pañcabrahma parityajya yo 'nyaṃ vijñātum icchati /
viphalaṃ tac chivaṃ jñānaṃ jñānamokṣañ ca pañcabhiḥ // 16
pañcabhis tu tataḥ sarvaṃ yad bhūtaṃ yac ca bhāvyati /
īśāne śaivam utpannaṃ vaimalaṃ puruṣā<t>[69] *smṛtam* // 17
pramāṇaṃ hṛdayāj jātaṃ vāmade<vāt> tu kārukam[70] /
sadyāc ca lakulīśāntaḥ[71] *pañcabhedāḥ prakīrtitāḥ* // 18
brahmaviṣṇusurā sarve gaṇā skandapurogamāḥ[72] /
ṛṣayo 'psarasā yakṣā nāgagandharvakinnarāḥ // 19
daityā vidyādharā sarvā ye cānye puravāsinaḥ[73] /
sthāpya pañcatanun[74] *devam arccayanti sadāśivam* // 20
na tatra mṛtyur nna jarā na vyādhir na ca duḥkhitāḥ[75] /
evaṃ prāpya ni†...† // 21
īdṛśaṃ ca paraṃ saukhyaṃ nityaṃ pramuditotsavāḥ[76] / 22ab

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[66] Conj.; *ajñānena tu* apograph K; *ajñānenaiva tu* Ms (unmetrical).

[67] Thus apograph K.

[68] Em. (e-text); *sadāśivamukhodgīrṇṇa* Ms.

[69] The 'loss' of final -t in ablative forms is a common feature in the *Niśvāsa* corpus.

[70] Em. (e-text); *vāmade*†...†*n tu kārakam* Ms.

[71] Em.; *lakulīśāntāḥ* Ms.

[72] Em. (e-text); *skandha*° Ms.

[73] Verses 19–20ab are the same as *Mūlasūtra* 1.2cd–3 (with the variant *siddhas tathānye* in 1.3cd).

[74] *Em.; pañcatanur* Ms.

[75] The half-verse 21ab is the same as *Mūlasūtra* 1.7ab.

[76] Em. (e-text); *pramuditotsayā* Ms.

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> But for the Śaivas [*sāyojyam* is attained] indeed by Gnosis, and theirs is [also] an initiation which is distinguished as special. (13cd)
> Devotion to Śiva, Muttering, Worship, Meditation, Restraint of breath: thus the five-mantra-regimen is proclaimed. But he who, (14) having known as 'the five mantras' the fivefold Pāśupata gnosis, which has been cast forth from Sadāśiva's mouth, and which shows the path to liberation, (15)
> leaves behind the five Brahma[mantras] and wishes to know more, [for him] that knowledge of Śiva is fruitless, and release through knowledge by means of the five [is too]. (16)
> Thus from the five[77] the whole [of the Śaiva knowledge] that was and will be [arises]. The Śaiva has arisen in Īśāna, and the Vaimala is said [to have arisen] from the Puruṣa. (17)
> The Pramāṇa was born from the heart (= Aghora), the Kāruka from Vāmadeva; from Sadya (= Sadyojāta) the doctrine [taught by] Lakulīśa [arises]. [Thus] the five divisions have been proclaimed. (18)
> Brahmā, Viṣṇu and all the [other] gods; the troops headed by Skanda; the Seers and Apsarases; the Yakṣas; the Nāgas; the Gandharvas; the Kinnaras; (19)
> the Daityas; the Vidyādharas, and the other dwellers in [Śiva's] city, they install Sadāśiva with five bodies and worship him. (20)
> There, there is no death, no aging, no disease, no sufferers. Having thus obtained †...† (21)
> and this kind of paramount happiness, always enjoying merriment. (22ab)

The final passage displays an attitude that may be considered 'inclusivist' insofar as it describes the various divisions of the Atimārga and their tenets as if springing forth from the four faces of Sadāśiva, the paramount deity of the Siddhānta. In so doing it praises—and therefore appropriates—the Pañcabrahma-based Mantric system of the Atimārga, which it warns against being abandoned even by the Śaiva practitioner within the more advanced Mantramārga path. Yet the superiority of the Śaiva Mantramārga, springing forth from the upper-oriented face of Īśāna, over the Vaimala system and the whole Atimārga is claimed on account of its superior, gnosis-bestowing initiation. The apologetic crescendo culminates with a praise of Sadāśiva as the paramount deity, worshiped by various gods in His heaven characterized by cessation of pain and utmost happiness.

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[77] Assuming that instr. *pañcabhis* stands for abl. *pañcabhyas*.

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v. 13c: *jñānenaiva tu śaivānām*: This is my conjectural emendation of the unmetrical *ajñānenaiva tu śaivānām*; other possible emendations could be *ajñānena tu śaivānām* (as in the apograph K), or *ajñānenaiva śaivānāṃ*. The reading *ajñānena* would yield the following translation: '(But) [the initiation of the Vaimalas] is (just) through ignorance with respect to that of the Śaivas, whose initiation is superior'. Whatever the original form of this line might have been, its apparent intent is to convey the notion that the initiation of the Śaiva, entailing *jñāna*, is superior to the initiation imparted by the Vaimalas, and in any event superior to the Vaimala regimen (i.e. ascetic conduct, gnosis and non-violence) .

v. 14: The five aspects of Pāśupata practice or *vidhi* are said to be Devotion to Śiva, Muttering, Worship, Meditation, Restraint of breath. I have not been able to find a corresponding list of five items in any Śaiva source known to me. However, the Pāñcārthika Pāśupata system—as its very name implies—is rife with pentads of means or categories that define its practices and goals. Witness, for instance, the five topics (*pañcārtha*) implied in the very title of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*,[78] and the various pentads mentioned in the verses quoted by Kauṇḍinya in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 5.30 (p. 130 ll. 4–13), correlating the five stages with respectively the five *lābha*s ('attainments'), *mala*s ('impurities'), *upāya*s ('means'),[79] *deśa*s ('places').[80]

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[78] These are deemed to be *kārya* ('effect'), *karaṇa* ('cause'), *yoga* ('union'), *vidhi* ('prescribed regimen'), *duḥkhānta* ('the end of suffering').

[79] According to *Gaṇakārikā* 1.7, the five *upāya*s are *vāsa* ('impregnating oneself with doctrine' or 'living by a teacher'), *caryā* ('good conduct'), *japadhyāna* ('muttering and visualization'), *sadārurasmṛti* ('constant mindfulness on Rudra'), *prasāda* ('grace'); contrast the verse quoted in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *sūtra* 5.30 (p. 130 ll. 10–11): *vāso dhyānam akhilakaraṇanirodhas tathā smṛtiś caiva / prasāda iti copāyā vijñeyāḥ pañca pañcārthe //*.

[80] This series of five appears to be linked to the five items *vasatyartha* ('dwelling place'), *bala* ('power'), *kriyā* ('faction'), *śuddhi* ('purity'), and *lābha* ('attainment') mentioned in the prose part of the commentary ad *sūtra* 5.30.

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vv. 17–18: The passage presents a model of the Śaiva stream emanating from the five faces of Sadāśīva that is in every respect analogous, yet richer in details, to that presented in the beginning of the Paṭala (vv. 3–5). Besides the Śaiva, Vaimala, Pramāṇa and Pāñcārthika[81] systems, the latter series of verses mention also the Kārukas, who were seemingly only implied in verses 9–12ab. This hierarchic model can be compared to analogous ones categorizing various Śaiva and non-Śaiva traditions, as well as the canon of Śaivatantras, as coming forth from the five faces of Sadāśiva:

		NiMu, SvT	NiGu	Mṛg CP
Sadyojāta	West	*laukika*	*pāñcārthika*	***bhūta-tantras***
Vāmadeva	North	*vaidika*	*kāruka*	***vāma-tantras***
Aghora	South	*ādhyātmika*	*pramāna*	***bhairava-tantras***
Tatpuruṣa	East	*atimārga{*	*vaimala*	***gāruḍa-tantras***
Īśāna	Zenith	***mantramārga***	*śaiva{*	***siddhānta-tantras***

A Typology of the Śaiva Atimārga

Niśvāsaguhya 1–22ab presents an emic model accounting for the subdivisions of the Śaiva Atimārga as seen from the perspective of Mantramārga Śaivism. To sum up: verses 7–9 refer to the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas, the lowest group in the hierarchy, who emphasized ascetic conduct (*caryā*) leading to the union with Rudra (*rudrasāyujya*). Verses 10–11 refer to the Pramāṇa system, which encompassed

[81] I interpret the °*antaḥ* in the compound *lakulīśāntaḥ* (emended from the plural *Lakulīśāntāḥ*) as meaning 'doctrine' (compare 'Siddhānta'), thus yielding the meaning of 'the doctrine taught by Lakulīśa' i.e. the Pāñcārtha. Sanderson (2001:30, fn. 32) proposes the emendation *lakulīśotthaṃ* ('stemming from Lakulīśā').

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the Mahāvratas and Kārukas, who are attributed superiority over the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas on account of their emphasis on gnosis (*jñāna*) besides *dīkṣā* and *caryā*, and who also aim at union with Rudra. Verse 12 refers to the Vaimalas, whose superior *dīkṣā* imparted by a Vaimala master, along with gnosis and ascetic conduct, leads to the union with Śiva (*śivasāyujya*). At the top of the hierarchy are placed the mainstream Śaivas, who are characterised by a superior form of gnosis-bestowing *dīkṣā*.

I shall now compare the data gathered from the verses analyzed above with relevant textual evidence scattered over later Śaiva Tantric sources, which make rare statements about the prerogatives and statuses of the Atimārga groups. This comparison will show that the *Niśvāsaguhya* presents a typology of the Atimārga that agrees in many respects with the views found in later scriptures of the Śaiva Mantramārga.

At the very outset, I should like to point out that a great deal of textual and historical evidence relating to the Śaiva Atimārga and Mantramārga divisions of Śaivism has been gathered by Alexis Sanderson on the basis of his readings of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and other unpublished Sanskrit texts. In a series of masterful studies (1988, 2001, 2006), of which abundant use I have gratefully made here, Sanderson has elaborated a compelling theory on the historical development of Atimārga and Mantramārga Śaivism. In his 'The Lākulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism' (Sanderson 2006), Sanderson has discussed in detail the two types of Atimārga recognized by the *Niśvāsamukha*, namely Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism (Atimārga I) and Lokātīta, Mahāvrata or Pramāṇa Pāśupatism (Atimārga II). He has referred to the latter division as 'Lākula Pāśupatism', on the basis of seminal Tantric scriptures and exegetical works such as Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Svacchandatantra*.

Sanderson (Sanderson 2006:191–193) observed that *dīkṣā*, *jñāna* and *caryā* are the three indispensable items in order to obtain liberation according to the soteriology of the Lākulas, and further argued that the fundamental difference between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas,

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Lākulas and Saiddhāntika Śaivas precisely lied in their forms of *dīkṣā*. According to him, the Pāśupata type of initiation is a mere *saṃskāra*, after which the practitioner should enact the practices that allow him to achieve and maintain his purity; the initiation of the Lākulas differed from that of the Pāśupatas in that it defined itself as capable of purifying the initiate's soul from the bondage of the lower levels of the cosmic path, thereby bestowing liberation.[82] A similar claim, underlying a new conception of initiation as capable of destroying the innate cosmic impurity (*mala*), will be made at a later stage by the Saiddhāntika Śaivas with respect to their *nirvāṇadīkṣā*.

The gist of the competition for supremacy among Śaiva groups appears therefore to have lied in the nature and power of *dīkṣā*, which validated their claims of superiority of one over the other. This predicament resulted in a model that Sanderson has defined as 'competitive extension', involving the accommodation of each group in the cosmic path according to a hierarchical scale. In his words (Sanderson 2006:193),

> [The Lākulas] differ from the Pañcārthikas and agree with the Āgamic Śaivas in conceiving of the universe as a hierarchy of worlds divided into two parts, a lower, impure universe (*aśuddho mārgaḥ*) and a higher, pure universe (*śuddho mārgaḥ*), the two separated by a vast barrier termed Granthi which only initiation and the cultivation of gnosis during post-initiatory observance can enable one to go beyond. [...] For the Lākulas this is initiation followed by asceticism and gnosis whereas for the Śaivas it is initiation followed by a much more accommodating range of religious practice, from the devotion of the exonerated initiate, which differ in no way from those of the lay Śivabhakta, to specifically Śaiva practice in which Yoga, Gnosis or ritual may predominate.

The analysis of *Niśvāsaguhya* 12.1–22 presented here lends further support to the observations made by Sanderson, insofar as it individuates in the passage the description of a model according to which the various groups within the Atimārga, as well as the overarching Mantramārga Śaivism, shared as the core of their religion the three

[82] Cf. Sanderson 2006:187–193 (especially p. 190).

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means of *caryā*, *dīkṣā* and *jñāna*;[83] what set apart one from the other was the different emphasis put on any one, or two, of those means, as well as the goals granted by them. In this manner an ascending hierarchy is envisaged, according to which the groups that put emphasis on gnosis and transformatory initiation stand above the practice-oriented ones. This typology can be summarized in the following (tentative) scheme:

		caryā	*dīkṣā*	*jñāna*	Distinctive *sādhana*	Goal
Pāśupata (Pāñcārthika)	Sadyojāta	+	+	+	*pāśupatavrata*	*rudra-sāyojya*
Pramāṇa I (Kārukas)	Vāmadeva	+++	++	++	extended *pāśupata-vrata*, extended *prakriyādhvan*	*rudra-sāyojya*
Pramāṇa II (Mahāvratas)	Aghora	++	++	+++	extended *pāśupata-vrata*, transformatory *dīkṣā*, gnosis of full *prakriyādhvan*	*rudra-sāyojya*
Vaimala	Tatpuruṣa	++	+++	+++	extended *pāśupata-vrata*, superior transformatory *dīkṣā* imparted by a Vaimalācārya	*śiva-sāyojya*
Śaiva	Īśāna	+	++++	++++	superior transformatory *dīkṣā* bestowing gnosis	*śiva-sāyojya*

The view that the pair formed by *dīkṣā* and *jñāna* retains a primary importance in the purificatory process leading the soul of the initiate in the Pramāṇa and Vaimala systems to higher stations is documented in a number of passages in the *Niśvāsa*-corpus and related sources. These sources concordantly link the initiates whose souls have been 'purified by initiation and gnosis' to high cosmic stations in the pure path (*śuddhādhvan*). Their goals are identified with the stations of

[83] This appears to be the gnosis of the additional hierarchy of Rudra-worlds in the *prakriyādhvan* described in the Pramāṇaśāstras: *cf.* Sanderson 2006:189–190.

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the Rudras Tejeśa/Tejīśa and Dhruva/Dhruveśa, both of which are characterized as the one goal of the Pramāṇa system. Such is the case in *Niśvāsaguhya* 7.261–262ab:

> *tejīśaś ca dhruvaś caiva pramāṇādhvānaṃ kīrtitam /*
> *kapālavratam āsthāya pramāṇāgamasiddhaye*[84] *//*
> *gatā dhruvapadaṃ ye tu dīkṣājñānaviśodhitāḥ /*
>
> Tejīśa and Dhruva are taught to be the world-path of the Pramāṇa [system]. Having carried out the observance of the skull in order to fulfill the doctrine of the Pramāṇas, those [adepts] reach the level of Dhruva, purified by initiation and gnosis.

Similarly, the Kashmirian *Svacchandatantra*—which notably builds its cosmological accounts by incorporating large sections of the *Niśvāsaguhya*—in 10.1174ab attributes both such goals to the so-called 'Pramāṇas':

> *tejeśaś ca dhruveśaś ca pramāṇānāṃ paraṃ padam*[85]

A passage of the *Niśvāsakārikā*[86] (44.77) agrees with the *Niśvāsaguhya* insofar as it links both Tejīśa and Dhruveśa to the Pramāṇa system, defining the follower of that path as 'endowed with initiation and gnosis':

> *tejīśaś*[87] *ca dhruveśaś ca pramāṇādhve*[88] *prakīrtitāḥ*
> *oṃ tejīśa namaḥ*
> *oṃ dhruveśa namaḥ*
> *pramāṇādhvaniviṣṭhānāṃ*[89] *dīkṣājñānasamanvitam //* 77

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[84] Conj. Sanderson (e-text); *pramāṇāgama*†...† Ms; *pramāṇāgamasamabhi*†...† apograph K; *pramāṇāgamasi*†...† apograph W.

[85] Compare a nearly identical line in *Niśvāsakārikā*, *Dīkṣottara* 7.78ab: *tejīśaś ca dhruvīśaś ca pramāṇe paramaṃ padam* (I quote the whole verse *infra*, p. 37).

[86] This Tantra is a long appendix to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (its 'fifth Sūtra', as it calls itself), which has survived only through heavily corrupt South Indian manuscripts.

[87] A; *tejīśaṃ* C; missing in B.

[88] Conj. (entailing the *aiśa* locative °*adhve* instead of °*adhvani*, seemingly m.c.); *pramāṇatve* A, C; missing in B.

[89] Conj.; *prāṇadhvaninivisṭhānāṃ* A; *prāṇādhvanī niṣṭhānāṃ* C; missing in B.

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Compare a lacunous passage of the *Dīkṣottara* (19.43–44ab), an appendix to the *Niśvāsakārikā*:

> *tejīśaś ca dhruvīśaś ca veditavyā prayatnataḥ /*
> *†...† <dīkṣā>jñānasamanvitāḥ //* 43
> *tatpadaṃ paramaṃ proktaṃ tathyam etan na saṃśayaḥ //*
>
> 43a tejīśaś ca dhruvīśaś ca] A ; tejaś ca dhravīśaś caiva B ; tejaś ca dhṛvisaś caiva C
> 43b veditavyā prayatnataḥ] BC ; veditavyaḥ †...† A 43d <dīkṣā>jñānasamanvitāḥ] conj.; †...†jñānasamānvitāḥ A ; †...†jñānasamanvitaḥ B ; †...†jñān sāgnvitaḥ C

The passage mentions Tejīśa and Dhruvīśa besides the adjectival compound 'endowed with (initiation and)[90] gnosis' and concludes with the singular *tatpadaṃ paramaṃ*, so as to indicate that both Rudras constitute one common goal. Arguably, reference to the Pramāṇa system might have been made in the missing portion of the verse (compare *pramāṇādhvaniviṣṭhānāṃ* in *Niśvāsakārikā* 44.77).

Indeed it is only in *Svacchandatantra* 11.72cd–73 that we find a differentiation between the stations of Tejeśa and Dhruva as the goals of the Vaimalas and the Pramāṇa-system respectively:

> *tejeśo vaimalānāṃ ca pramāṇe ca dhruvaṃ padam*
> *dīkṣājñānaviśuddhātmā dehāntaṃ yāva caryayā*
> *kapālavratam āsthāya svaṃ svaṃ gacchati tatpadam*
>
> For the Vaimalas, the goal is Tejeśa, and for the Pramāṇa [system] it is Dhruva. The soul being purified by initiation and gnosis, by keeping discipline until death, and by practising the observance of the skull, he reaches the respective goals [of those systems].

This differentiation is likely to amount to a *post hoc* attempt at systematizing the goals of various Atimārga groups and accommodate them into a coherent classificatory cosmological system. The same attempt may be detected in the preceding verses 10.71cd–72ab, which correlate the obscure Mausulas—about whom we know little besides their

[90] The missing portion of the compound can be conjecturally reconstructed by comparing it to *Niśvāsakārikā* 44.77 and other passages of similar context, where a compound formed by the pair *dīkṣājñāna* occur.

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name—and Kārukas with the Rudras Kṣemeśa and Brahmaṇaḥsvāmin respectively.[91]

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[91] Sanderson (2006:169–170) has already pointed out the apparent contradiction between *Svacchandatantra* 11.72cd–73, which attributes the goals of Tejeśa and Dhruva to the Vaimalas and Pramāṇas respectively, and 10.1174ab, which attributes the level of Dhruva to both the Pramāṇa-Pāśupatas and the Vaimalas. He has further argued that the two statements can be reconciled on the basis of the following passage of the *Niśvāsakārikā/ Dīkṣottara* (7.78):

> ***tejīśaś ca dhruvīśaś ca pramāṇe paramaṃ padam /***
> ***dvau rudrau tu samākhyātau yogamokṣaphalapradau //***
> **78a** dhruvīśaś] em.; bravīśaś AB; bruvīśaś C
> **78d** yogamokṣaphalapradau] A; bhogamokṣaphalapradau BC

According to Sanderson, the compound *yogamokṣaphalapradau* would imply that Tejīśa and Dhruva bestow *yoga* and *mokṣa* respectively, thus involving a kind of hierarchy. This is in my mind debatable since the other two testimonia read *bhogamokṣaphalapradau*, and this very same compound is referred by them to four Rudras in the adjacent verse 7.79 (against A, which again reads *yogamokṣaphalapradāḥ*):

> ***tataḥ prāṇaḥ smṛto devi brahmadattaṃ tataḥ punaḥ /***
> ***catvāras tu smṛtā rudrā bhogamokṣaphalapradām //***
> **48a** tataḥ prāṇaḥ smṛto] A; tata†…† smṛto B; tataḥ smṛto devi C
> **48b** brahmadattaṃ tataḥ puna] AB; brahman tataḥ punaḥ C
> **48c** smṛtā] A; smṛto BC rudrā] BC; rudrāḥ A
> **48d** bhogamokṣaphalapradāḥ] B; bhogamokṣaphala-pradām C; yogamokṣaphalapradāḥ A

I suspect that this compound constitutes nothing more than a frequent formulaic expression, implying no actual difference in the goals bestowed by the two Rudras. Compare, e.g., the clichés *bhuktimuktiphalaprada* and *sarvakāmaphalaprada* occurring in a passage of the *Matsyapurāṇa* (22.7–8), which describes the sacred sites devoted to the Rudras Avimukta and Vimaleśvara (the latter arguably being the tutelary Rudra of the Vaimalas): *tathā vārāṇasī puṇyā pitṝṇāṃ vallabhā sadā / yatrāvimuktasāṃnidhyaṃ **bhuktimuktiphalapradam** // pitṝṇāṃ vallabhaṃ tadvat puṇyaṃ ca vimaleśvaram / pitṛtīrthaṃ prayāgaṃ tu **sarvakāmaphalapradam** //.*

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A somewhat idiosyncratic account is found in the *Niśvāsakārikā* (*Dīkṣottara* 18.123–125), which places the Vaimalas in the level of Dhruva:

vaimalāḥ kārukāś caiva tathā pāśupatāś ca ye /
vaimalānāṃ dhruvaṃ devaṃ kārukāṇāṃ tathopari // 123
granthī dhruvānadhīnānāṃ śivasṛṣṭer avasthitā /
teṣāṃ tatparamaṃ sthānaṃ dīkṣādhvānaviśodhitam // 124
īśvaraṃ pāśupatānāṃ sthānaṃ caivam udāhṛtam /
caryādhvānaviśuddhātmā gacchate nātra saṃśayaḥ // 125

123a vaimalāḥ kārukāś] vaimalā kārakāś ABC 123b pāśupatāś] C; pāśupatā A; †...†ś B 123c dhruvaṃ] BC; dhṛvaṃ A kārukāṇāṃ] cm.; kārakāṇām ABC 124a granthī dhruvānadhīnānāṃ] conj.; granthidhruvaṃ māhīnāṃ A; grandhī dhruvadhīnāṃ B; granthī dhṛvanadhīnānāṃ C 124b śivasṛṣṭer avasthitā] A; śivaṃ ghṛṣṭer avasthitā B; śivaṃ dṛṣṭe svasthitā C 124c tatparamaṃ] A; tatvaparaṃ B; tattvaparaṃ C 125a pāśupatānāṃ] cm.; pāśupatyānāṃ ABC (m.c.?) 125c caryādhvānaviśuddhātmā] A; caryādhyānaviśuddhātmā BC

The Vaimalas, the Kārukas, and the Pāśupatas. Dhruva is the deity of the Vaimalas; then[92] [there is the level] of the Kārukas. 123 The Granthi stands near the [pure] emission of Śiva; it is the supreme goal of those who do not rest in Dhruva (i.e. the Kārukas), [and is reached by those] whose cosmic path is purified by initiation [only]. 124 Īśvara is declared to be the goal of the Pāśupatas. [Their] souls being purified from the hold of the cosmic path by means of ascetic conduct, they go [there]; there is no doubt about it. 125

Here the goal of the Vaimalas is said to be Dhruva, who is placed above the *granthi* or 'barrier' reached by adepts who do not rest in Dhruva—seemingly the Kārukas mentioned in verse 123, whose cosmic path is purified (only) by initiation (*dīkṣādhvānaviśodhitam*). Further below are the Pāśupatas, 'whose souls have been purified from the hold of the cosmic path by means of ascetic conduct [only]' (*caryādhvānaviśuddhātmā*).[93] Although the Vaimalas' and Kārukas' specific features are not characterized, by comparing this passage to those of similar context quoted above one is tempted to see an implied

[92] In this context, I understand *tathopari* in the sense of 'besides', 'further', 'also'.

[93] Note the *aiśa* form °*ātmā*, apparently considered a nominative plural.

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opposition between the Vaimalas, whose soul is purified by initiation and gnosis (*dīkṣājñānaviśuddhātma*), and other less-advanced practitioners, who lack a complete gnosis of the *prakriyādhvan*, or whose soul/cosmic path is purified by initiation or ascetic conduct only (such as in the case of the Pāśupatas).[94]

This picture, although perforce still uncertain and ambiguous, is consistent with the scant information we possess about the Kārukas, who, unlike the more 'gnostic' Vaimalas and Mahāvratas/Lākulas, adhered to the chiefly practice-oriented among the Praṃāṇaśāstras (*cf. infra*), thus standing at a lower level of the hierarchy, between the Vaimalas and the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas. Their highest station, set over against (or even within) the Granthi, is regarded to be still in the realm of Māyā and therefore not yet purified to a degree sufficient to let them cross over into the pure universe.[95]

Whereas the above Saiddhāntika accounts apparently reflect an attempt to sketch a hierarchy between the Atimārga groups on the basis of the degree of purification attained by initiation, gnosis, and/or ascetic regimen, they were by no means in agreement when describing their respective goals. It is evident that either the boundaries between such groups as the Vaimalas, Kārukas and Lākulas/Mahāvratas (the last two being considered part of the 'Pramāṇa system') were not clear-cut, or the compilers of later Mantramārga sources were not clear about the specific prerogatives and ultimate goals peculiar to each group. This confusion might have originated from the fact that these groups were largely superseded at the time when the Mantramārga took hold as the mainstream form of Śaivism in the Subcontinent. But one

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[94] *Dīkṣottara* 12.25 (≈ 13.7) mentions the Pāśupatas, Kārukas and Vaimalas as the only examples of (non-Mantramārga) Śaiva schools when listing inferior (non-Śaiva) truths (i.e. Vedāntins, Pāñcarātrikas, Buddhists, etc.).

[95] Compare the cosmological accounts reconstructed by Sanderson (Sanderson 2006:199–200) on the basis of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and the *Svacchandatantra*, which put the Kārukas, along with the Mausulas, in the impure universe.

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may also argue that a source of confusion was the allegiance of all these post-Pāñcārthika Pāśupata groups to a common canon of scriptures, called Pramāṇas, Pramāṇāgamas, or Pramāṇaśāstras. That this was the case is suggested by a remark of the 11th century Kashmirian Śaiva commentator Kṣemarāja, who, in his commentary ad *Svacchandatantra* 11.73, regarded the followers of the Pramāṇaśāstra and the Vaimala (*vaimalapramāṇaśāstraniṣṭho*) as superior to the Mausulas and Kārukas on account of the latter's allegiance to the chiefly practice-oriented among the Pramāṇaśāstras.[96] According to Kṣemarāja, the followers of the Pramāṇa and Vaimala systems are in *Svacchandatantra* 11.73a characterized as 'having their souls purified by initiation and gnosis' (*dīkṣājñānaviśuddhātma*) precisely because of their allegiance to the eight gnosis-oriented Praṃāṇas.[97]

The concept of *ātmaśuddhi*, closely linked to that of *adhvaśuddhi*, is regarded by Sanderson (Sanderson 2006:190) as the feature that bridges the initiation of the Lākula groups with the Āgamic *dīkṣā*, involving the presence of an extended cosmic hierarchy. Thus the emphasis of gnosis and initiation was precisely what differentiated the Lākula from the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas, in this respect setting

[96] These are the six Pramāṇas extracted from the *Hṛdayapramāṇa* (these are all lost), and chiefly devoted to the six ritual acts (*ṣaṭkriyāpradhānāni pramāṇāni*, *cf.* Kṣemarāja ad *Svacchandatantra* 10.1134); *cf.* Bakker 2000:4; Sanderson 2006:171.

[97] The passage runs (trans. Bakker 2000:6): 'For, he who follows the Pramāṇa Śāstra and the Vaimala, "His soul is purified by initiation and knowledge, by (keeping to) the prescribed praxis until death, while abiding by the Kapāla observance—he goes to that station that is his own." (SvT 11.73) The quarter-verse 'His soul is purified by initiation and knowledge' indicates the difference here from the afore-mentioned Mausulas and Kārukas, who are devoted only to observances that are chiefly ritualistic', *vaimalapramāṇaśāstraniṣṭho hi **dīkṣājñānaviśuddhātmā** dehāntaṃ yāva caryayā / kapālavratamāsthāya svaṃ svaṃ gacchati tatpadam // dīkṣājñānaviśuddhātmetipadena proktakriyāpradhānavratamātraniṣṭhamausula-kārukebhyo 'tra viśeṣo darśitaḥ*. For a discussion of Kṣemarāja's commentary and *Svacchandatantra* 10.1134, elaborating on the eight chiefly gnostic Pramāṇas (*jñānapradhānapramāṇāṣṭaka*), *cf.* Sanderson 2006:171–172.

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the former closer to Agāmic Śaivism, whose initiation is considered superior because of knowledge.

Niśvāsaguhya 12.12cd–13 sheds light on the distinction between the Vaimalas and other Pramāṇa-Pāśupatas, as well as the Pāñcārthika-Pāśupatas, by claiming that the Vaimalas are superior insofar as their initiation leads to *śivasāyojya* (which is higher than *rudrasāyojya*). As line 13cd would seem to imply, the initiation of the Saiddhāntika Śaivas was in its turn considered superior to that of the Vaimalas insofar as it intrinsically bestowed gnosis to the initiate,[98] whereas for the Vaimalas and the other Pramāṇa-based groups ascetic regimen alongside knowledge of the *prakriyādhvā* was still required to achieve final liberation.[99] From the perspective of the Mantramārga, an even lower status was attributed to the proper Pāśupatas, admitting only to the *pāśupatavrata* as their chief means of liberation and lacking gnosis as well as a powerful, i.e. gnosis-bestowing, initiation.[100]

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[98] Cf., besides our passage, also *Niśvāsanaya* 1.88cd–89ab (describing Saiddhāntika initiation, granted by Sadāśiva): 'Initiation bestows gnosis through the descent of Śiva's Power. Thus grace is regarded, and the bestower [of it] is Sadāśiva', *śivaśaktinipātena dīkṣā jñānaṃ prayacchati // so 'nugrahaḥ smṛto hy evaṃ dātā caiva sadāśivaḥ /*.

[99] Speaking about the 'Lākula' variety of *dīkṣā* described in *Niśvāsamukha* 4.96–97, Sanderson (Sanderson 2006:189–190) remarks that 'gnosis of the *prakriyādhvā* completes by the time of death the task that initiation had almost but not completely accomplished'.

[100] The Mantramārga *dīkṣā* was presumably special, in part because of the introduction of fire, but also because it entailed an element of gnosis. Besides *Niśvāsanaya* 1.88cd–89ab (quoted above, fn. 98), *cf. Niśvāsamukha* 1.156cd–157ab, where a critique to the *dīkṣā* of a (gnosis-less) Pāñcārthika Pāśupata is made: 'In such way he worships, the one without Gnosis, devoid of initiation bestowed by (or leading to) Śiva. To such initiate, [aiming] at liberation, this fruit (i.e. the state of *gaṇatā*) is promised', *evaṃ yaḥ pūjayed ajñaḥ śivadīkṣāvivarjitaḥ // tasyedaṃ phalam uddiṣṭam a*[[*pava*]]–*rgāya dīkṣ*[[*itaḥ*]]*/*. This type of practitioner—whose Pāśupata affiliation can be unquestionably gathered from verse 1.153 attributing to him the ascetic regimen formed by such peculiar practices as bellowing (*huḍukkāra*), dancing

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One may argue that for Mantramārga Śaivism it was vital to present itself as bestowing a powerful *dīkṣā* upon the initiates into its ranks, who were only required to carry out a bland and accommodating post-initiatory regimen.

It thus appears that, at a certain stage of the development of the post-Pāñcārthika Atimārga, initiation assumed a primary soteriological importance. This innovation is likely to have been triggered by a new conception of impurity (*mala*), which was not recognized by the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas as a proper metaphysical entity. This new concept of *mala* might have been elaborated already in the proto-Saiddhāntika stage of Śaivism, and achieved its full maturity and ritual implementation in Saiddhāntika Mantramārga milieux from ca. the seventh century onwards.[101] In view of the statements made in *Niśvāsaguhya* 12.12cd–13, as well as in the above-quoted passages scattered over the Mantramārga corpus, it may be argued that

(*nṛtya*), making musical sound with the mouth (*mukhavādya*), and boisterous laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*), which lead to the state of Gaṇeśvara (i.e. Rudra)—is characterized as being devoid of gnosis (*ajña*) precisely *because* he lacks *śivadīkṣā*, i.e. initiation bestowed by (or leading to) Śiva.

[101] Although the term *mala* and its concept as a separate metaphysical entity is absent in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* as well as early Saiddhāntika scriptures (see Goodall et al. 2008, esp. Introduction), Acharya (Acharya 2014) has argued that the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*'s description of bonds 'stands between the Pāśupata concept of bonds and the one found in the fully developed version of the Śaiva Mantramārga' (ibid.:12), and that, as suggested by an account by Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti (ca. 550–650 AD), the idea of sin as the unseen force of karmic effects was already present in the early phase of Śaiva Siddhānta and later developed into the idea of innate impurity as an abstract substance. In fact I feel that several passages of the *Niśvāsa* suggest that the idea of impurity (or, in any event, the concept that some obfuscating and impeding elements need to be 'cleansed' from the soul) was already present in some form. Cf., for instance, *Nayasūtra* 4.72, where a practitioner who meditates on himself as being like Śiva (*śivavan manyamāno*) and free from desire and repulsion (*rāgadveṣavivarjitaḥ*) becomes devoid of impurity and pure (*nirmalāḥ śuddhāḥ*, *aiśa* plural).

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it was the Vaimala system that implemented a more powerful form of *dīkṣā*—i.e. one able to destroy the innate impurity binding the souls and leading to higher stations in the pure cosmic path, and one that was imparted by a specialist in Śaiva initiation, the *ācārya*. If seen from this perspective, the very name 'Vaimala' carries the implication of 'lack of impurity' (*vi+mala*), thereby denoting not only 'the followers of [the Rudra] Vimala ('the Spotless')', but also 'those who call themselves "free from impurity"' (however that impurity might have been conceptualised).

Indirect evidence in support of this hypothesis may be found in a verse of the *Raurava* that survived in the version commented upon by Sadyojyotis, which Rāmakaṇṭha quotes at the very beginning of his *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti*. Here we find the compound *viśikhāmalakārakāḥ*, '[those] agents [who hold that liberation is brought about by the transference] of powers, those agents who are devoid of Impurity' (Watson, Goodall and Sarma 2013:222; see also 65–69). The *amalakāraka*s are identified by Rāmakaṇṭha as those who regard liberation as consisting in what Sadyojyotis calls *nirmalatvaṃ ca kevalam*, i.e. a lack of impurity alone (and not omniscience or omnipotence). This group might have been the Vaimala.[102] Another indirect

[102] In a series of emails exchanged in January 2013, Alex Watson and myself discussed the possibility that the word *-kāraka* in the *Raurava* verse cited in the *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti* could be a corruption of (or, better still, an attempt by Rāmakaṇṭha and even Sadyojyotis to make sense of) an original *kāruka* (on which, see Acri 2008:195 fn. 13, 196 fn. 14, and *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* II, s.v. *kāruka*); in that case, the compound as found in the *Raurava* could have referred to three distinct groups, namely those 'without a topknot' (*śikhā*), i.e. the Pāśupatas, those without impurity, i.e. the Vaimalas, and the Kārukas. On the identity of the *viśikha*/*viśikhā* as Pāśupatas, see Watson, Goodall and Sarma 2013:66–67; noteworthy is the mention in the *Saṃskāravidhi* of the removal of the topknot in Pāśupata initiation (see Acharya 2007:35–36 and 46–47), as well as the testimony of the Old Javanese *Kuñjarakarṇa* about a group of Śaiva ascetics named *viśikhin* ('Those who lack a topknot'; see Acri 2008:201, fn. 37). For a preliminary

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piece of evidence comes from Old Javanese sources from ancient Java and Bali, which apparently knew of Śaiva practitioners called Alepakas ('the Spotless ones'); these I have linked to the Vaimalas known from Sanskrit sources (Acri 2008). The word *alepaka* in Old Javanese carries the double meaning of both 'spotless, stainless' (Skt *alpha privans* + *lepaka*) and 'dirty, stained' (Old Javanese prefix *a* + *lepaka*). The *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakavin (ca. 9th century AD) playfully exploits this ambiguity to criticize the Alepakas and their alleged purity by ridiculing their extreme ascetic practices involving lying and/or bathing in ashes. On the other hand, the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (2.1–6, 3.36–43), a Sanskrit-Old Javanese treatise of early Saiddhāntika persuasion, describes a tripartite division of the Śaiva stream comprising Pāśupatas, Alepakas and Śaivas. The intermediate position of the Alepakas in the hierarchy, as the only intermediate group between the (Pāñcārthika) Pāśupatas and the (mainstream or Saiddhāntika) Śaivas, is in harmony with the relatively high position accorded to the Vaimalas by Sanskrit Mantramārgic sources, which put them in the cosmic station of Tejīśa/Dhruva, or in any event in the *śuddhādhvan*. Similarly, the loftiest position in the hierarchy of non-Mantramārga traditions is accorded to the Alepaka system in *śloka*s 2–3 of the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *Brahmokta Vidhi Śāstra* (*cf.* Acri 2008:198–199), where it is correlated with the head of the body of the Holy Veda (*saṅ veddha*), which is for the rest made up by Śīkṣā (tongue), Vaiśeṣika (neck), Māhānātha (chest), Pāśupata (heart), Mīmāṃsā (belly), and Kāmatantra (genitals). This is comparable to the Mantramārga model representing the Vaimalas as springing up from the eastern face of Sadāśiva, i.e. Tatpuruṣa, which is the highest in the hierarchy of the Atimārga as it is usually mentioned before the zenith-facing Īśāna from which the Mantramārga originates.[103]

hypothesis concerning the identity of the Kārukas as an Atimārgic group of itinerant ascetics linked to bardic performance, see Acri 2011:78–79.

[103] It may be worthwhile to test this hypothesis against the evidence gathered from Sanskrit inscriptions engraved in Angkorian non-royal caves in Cambodia, where we find a mention of Dhruva-seeking ascetics

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Conclusion

Niśvāsaguhya 12.1–22ab presents a model accounting for the subdivisions of the Śaiva Atimārga as seen from the perspective of the hierarchically-higher Mantramārga Śaivism. In comparing, and contrasting, this model to analogous ones found scattered over the extant literature of the Śaiva Mantramārga, I have suggested that the ensuing taxonomies, albeit different in the details and at times contradictory, seem to share an underlying rationale. This rationale is their emphasis on gnosis (*jñāna*), initiation (*dīkṣā*), or ascetic conduct (*caryā*) respectively.

Because of the lack of both first- and second-hand accounts on the little-known Atimārga groups mentioned in the sources, it is difficult to determine whether those taxonomies reflect actual social realities or are the result of *post hoc*, and inevitably partial, systematising attempts by the compilers of seminal scriptures and their learned commentators. The latter especially might have had only scant knowledge, if any at all, of the elusive real-world referents of those groups, namely the contemporary practitioners belonging to currents that were more often than not marginal and ascetic, and which might have been already extinct or significantly transformed by their time. Yet, interesting information on such groups as the obscure Vaimalas and the Kārukas can be found in several early Sanskrit sources, including the *Niśvāsa* and the *Raurava*, and what seems to be an awareness of both their tenets and the stereotypes connected with them is reflected in some Old Javanese and (Sanskrit) Khmer sources. In view of this fact, it seems safe

(*cf.*, e.g., the expression *dhruvanirantaratattvavandhuḥ* in K 371.8), and where the station of Dhruva is defined as 'spotless' (*dhruvam amalapadaṃ*, K 1049.8). Such relevant inscriptions are currently being (re-)edited, translated and studied by Dominic Goodall, from whom I learnt about these interesting references at a seminar held at EPHE in 2006, and at the presentation 'Can we identify the sectarian obedience of the Śaiva ascetics of non-royal cave-inscriptions in Cambodia?' delivered at the 15th World Sanskrit Conference, held in New Delhi in January 2012.

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to assume that these groups must once have been, if not institutionalised orders, at least 'living realities' (however peripheral), and not the mere product of what David White (White 2005:9) calls the 'prescriptive imagination' of Medieval South Asian landscapes.

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(A) Devanāgarī transcript, IFP MS T 17, from a MS belonging to M.K.S. Bhattar Madurai; 188 leaves / 635 pp.

(B) Devanāgarī transcript, IFP MS T 127, from MS GOML R. No. 16804; 506 pp.

(C) Devanāgarī transcript, IFP MS T 150, from MS GOML R. No. 14403; 353 pp. e-texts (Roman) of the above transcripts, typed principally by S. A. S. Sarma and Nibedita Rout (T 17), R. Sathyanarayanan (T 127), Nibedita Rout (T 150) The verse and chapter numeration used in this article is that of the e-text of T 17.

Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā

(1) Palm-leaf MS, early Nepalese 'Licchavi' script, NAK 1-227, NGMPP Reel No. A 41/14; 114 leaves.

(2) e-text (Roman and Devanāgarī) prepared by Dominic Goodall, with the contribution of Diwakar Acharya, Peter Bisschop and Nirajan Kafle, from MS NAK 1-227, supplemented with readings from its two Devanāgarī apographs, MS 5-2401, NGMPP Reel No. A 159/18 and Sanskrit MS i.33 of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London. [Includes the *Niśvāsamukha*, *Niśvāsamūla*, *Niśvāsottara*, *Niśvāsanaya* and *Niśvāsaguhya*]. The verse and chapter numeration used in this book is that of Goodall's edition in progress.

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When Gods Get Broken—the Theory and Practice of the *jīrṇoddhāra* and *navīkaraṇa* in the Pāñcarātrika sources*

SUMMARY: The elaborate rituals accompanying the construction of a temple and the installation of its idols characteristic of Tantric traditions were meant to ensure a perfect abode and receptacle for the highest god in his earthly manifestation. Descriptions of these rituals in religious texts supplement technical prescripts included in texts on art and architecture and provide a theoretical and theological background for the temple cult. The practices enable the proper creation and then the appropriate use of the temple and its idol, guaranteed by the permanent presence of god. But in the every-day temple practice the ritual could be endangered by the fact that the temple and the idol in some situations lose their perfection. This can be caused by impurity or damage. The ideal structure can be spoilt and therefore the religious practice and ritualistic manuals have to provide practical methods of reacting to such inevitable events.

The article refers to several Pāñcarātrika sources which in their passages concern the impurity and damages as well as the renovation and replacement of old temples and images. The actions to be undertaken in such cases are presented in the texts under the heading *jīrṇoddhāra*.

KEYWORDS: Pāñcarātra, temple cult, images, renovation rituals (*jīrṇoddhāra*)

Very elaborate rituals connected with the construction of a temple and the installation of an idol central to the temple cult are characteristic of

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Tantric traditions, and among them the South Indian Vaiṣṇava cults of Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra. These rituals were meant to ensure a perfect abode and receptacle for the highest god in his earthly manifestation. Only by following the very detailed rules can one expect to achieve a perfect result, namely to construct the place and form which god requires and deserves. Descriptions of the particular rituals accompanying this construction found in the canonical texts of the religious traditions supplement the technical prescripts included in texts on art and architecture and provide a theoretical and theological background for the temple cult. Reading into these texts gives a better insight into the essence of the worship of god's representations in Tantric traditions, among them Pāñcarātra. As D. Smith wrote: "From the heavily-liturgical texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama one can begin to appreciate at least some of the holy enthusiasm that fired the faithful to prepare a house where the Lord in His image-form might be worshipped in appropriate dignity."[1]

The elaborate, time-consuming practices enable proper creation and then appropriate use of the temple and its idol, guaranteed by the permanent presence of god. But in the every-day temple practice the ritual could be endangered by the fact that the temple and the idol in some situations lose their perfection and, consequently, also their efficiency in ensuring god's presence and providing his grace. This can be caused by impurity or damage. The impurity can be caused by a trivial, physical reason as well as by a religious deficiency.[2] The damage can be caused by physical destruction of some parts or the whole temple or idol. The ideal structure can be spoilt and therefore the religious

[1] D. Smith in the Foreword to the *Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhana*, p. XIX (Smith 1963). About Śiva's representations and their worship, see for example Davis 2000, especially chapter 4 entitled *Summoning the Lord*.

[2] In the history of India, foreign invasions, for example those by Muslims, were also the reasons forcing the priests and devotees to hide temple images. They were taken to safer places or buried in the ground. See for example Davis 1999, Sarma (forthcoming).

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practice and ritualistic manuals have to provide practical methods of reacting to such inevitable events as impurity or damage within the temple premises.

The techniques of dealing with damage combine theoretical/theological and religious/ritualistic issues with practical problems of managing the material structures and objects. The subject is connected also with the craft of Indian artisans (architects, painters and sculptors) mastered throughout centuries and accompanying the development of the religious traditions. It reached a very high level of performance especially around the 10th century A.D. and at that time the development of the stone temple architecture and sculptures as well as metal casts and paintings of god's images were in their full bloom.

In the religious context of the Pāñcarātra one has to remember the strong belief in the real presence of god in his representations connected with the concept of the five modes of his existence—*para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin* and *arcāvatāra*[3], where the *arcāvatāra* is perceived as his real presence in the representations, enabling a very close and intimate relation between the god and his devotees. Therefore, the question of how to handle these representations becomes one of the issues often undertaken and elaborated in the Pāñcarātrika *saṃhitās*.[4]

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[3] These are: the highest and transcendent form of god, his emanations, his manifestations, the form of the "inner controller" present in every living creature, and the god present in his representations; see for example Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 2011, pp. 85–96, and Czerniak-Drożdżowicz (forthcoming). The concept of five modes of god's existence, and especially the last two—*antaryāmin* and *arcāvatāra*, was elaborated in the Śrīvaiṣṇava theology; see for example Narayanan 1984, Nayar 1992.

[4] I presented some basic information concerning the installation ceremony—*pratiṣṭhā* in the article entitled "The *Pratiṣṭhā* Ceremony (Installation of an Idol) in Some Pāñcarātrika Sources", in: CEENIS Current Research Series vol. 1. Edited by Danuta Stasik and Anna Trynkowska. Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warsaw 2013. More elaborate remarks on the topic were presented in the paper entitled "At the crossroad of art and religion-image consecration in the Pāñcarātrika sources", delivered at the International

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The actions to be undertaken in the case of damages are presented in the texts under the heading *jīrṇoddhāra*, which is often translated as "reconstruction of the damaged". Sometimes also the term *navīkaraṇa* is used, which literally means "making anew/renovation", however, it is used less frequently. In the Pāñcarātrika sources *navīkaraṇa* is not used as a noun, though in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* and the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* the expressions *navīkṛtya* and *navaṃ kṛtvā* can be found (*Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.94—*navam kṛtvā*; 19.158, 19.159, 19.172 and 19.179—*navīkṛtya*); *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* 19.389—*navīkṛtya*; 19.454 *navaṃ kṛtvā*).[5]

The term *jīrṇoddhāra* poses some terminological problems and apart from "reconstruction of the damaged" it could also be translated as "removal/extraction of the old/damaged". This terminological problem was observed for example by A. von Rospatt, who bases his deliberations mostly on the Buddhist sources and presents them, for example, in his article concerning Svayambhu *caitya*'s renovation. He proposes the translation "the removal of what has become marred".[6] A similar translation is provided by the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*: "removal of a [cult-image] that is old and used".[7] Though such is a direct translation from Sanskrit, nevertheless, the term was understood not only as the removal of the old but also as the whole process of renovation or even replacement of the old one by the new one. The removal, as also von Rospatt observes, could mean the actual extraction of the idol or for

Seminar *Consecration Rituals in South Asia*, Department of Archaeology and Religious Studies, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway, 18.10.2012–20.10.2012, (forthcoming).

[5] Some information concerning faults in the images and the ways of treating them, together with several details concerning installation ceremony can be also found in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* chapter 38.

[6] Rospatt 2013. I am very grateful to the Author for providing me with his text and for his very useful remarks concerning this problem (personal communications, Oslo 2011).

[7] TAK vol. II, p. 274.

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example the *yaṣṭi* pole from the core of the *caitya*, even with the help of bulls, which by pulling it enable this technically complicated task.[8]

The Pāñcarātrika *saṃhitā*s do not give clear and direct information how the term should be understood, though for example the comparison of the process of renovation to the process of assuming a new body by a soul would suggest both the removal or abandoning of the old shape and then acquiring the new one.[9] The term appears usually in the context suggesting not only removal but also renovation or replacement, as can be found for example in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*:

> "I will explain the rule of removal/renovation of the old, listen o Wise ones. For the self-manifesting and other images, if the main limb or minor limb is broken, there should be uniting/repair, but never abandoning."[10]

Therefore, considering also the fact that the description of the *jīrṇoddhāra* is not limited to the removal, but usually followed by the description of the repair or replacement, we would be tempted to understand the term in a much broader sense than just literal, and we take it as removal and renovation or replacement.

Descriptions of the renovation of idols and temples can be also found in Puranic texts, such as for example the *Agnipurāṇa* chapter 67, as well as in the literature concerning handicrafts and architecture, for example the *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇa*[11]; the *Mayamata*, connected with the Śaivasiddhānta tradition and South India[12]; or the *Śilparatna*,

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[8] Similar procedure with the usage of bulls is, under the heading of *bimboddhāra*, mentioned also by S.A.S. Sarma (Sarma forthcoming), who refers to the Keralan context.

[9] *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* 24.3; see also p.17.

[10] *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.50cd-51:
jīrṇoddhāravidhiṃ vakṣye śṛṇudhvaṃ munisattamāḥ || 19.50
svayaṃvyaktādibimbānāṃ mahāṅge vāhyupāṅgake |
bhagne sandhānam <saṃdhānam> eva syāt tyāgas tu na kadācana || 19.51

[11] Sanskrit text in Banerjea 2002, Appendix B II.

[12] For example the *Mayamata* chapter 35; English translation see Dagens 1995.

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ascribed to Śrīkumāra (16th AD). The *Śilparatna* reads: "(...) when an image is slightly damaged, it should never be discarded; but when its arms, hands, feet and legs are severed, when it is broken, split up or nine *yava* portion of it is gone or when it gets disfigured, it is usually to be discarded. If its fingers, etc., are cut up (or broken) the sages recommend binding (repairing) them".[13] All the repairs of the damage inside the temple were also regulated by strict rules.

The causes of damage

In relevant texts several reasons causing damage to temples and idols are given, for example[14]: cavity and loss of bricks (*iṣṭakākṣepa*, *iṣṭakāviparyāsa*), damage to bricks and stones in temple walls, cracking in plaster (*sudhāsphoṭa*), leakage of water (*jalasaṃsrāva*), emergence of fungus (*kavakodbhava*), accumulation of water after bathing the idols (*abhiṣekāmbusaṅkaṭa*), damage to the *prastara* roof, destruction of the door or its frame known as *kavāṭa* and *dvāra*, emergence and an attack of flies or wild bees known as *mahāmākṣika*, emergence of anthill (*valmīka*), decrease of the ground level (*sthalavibhrama*). The damage caused by fire, water, also by animals such as elephants and by thieves and arrogant people shall be repaired immediately. A clap of thunder (*aśani*) or the appearance of insects may cause the damage. Insects and animals not only could cause damage

[13] In Banerjea's translation; Banerjea 2002. *Śilparatna*, part II, p. 209, in Banerjea 2002, p. 571:

doṣe laghutare bimbaṃ naiva tyājyaṃ kadācana |
bāhucchede karacchede pādacchede tathaiva ca ||
tathaiva sphuṭite bhinne yasmin navayave gate |
vairūpyaṃ jāyate yasya tat tyajyaṃ prāyaśo bhavet ||
aṅgulyādiparicchede bandhanaṃ śasyate [corr.; *sas'yate* ed.] *budhaiḥ*

[14] See Narasimhan 2005, pp. 202–216. He, basing his research on several sources, in the footnotes 1–15 refers to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava texts: *Kriyādhikāra*, *Khilādhikāra*, *Kāraṇāgama*, *Vimānārcanākalpa*, *Nāradīyasaṃhitā*, *Pādmasaṃhitā* and *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā*.

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to the temples and images, but their blood or excrement could also pollute them.

Pāñcarātrika texts enumerate many reasons causing damage to the temple, for example the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* speaks about a cleft of the ground (*kṣmābheda*) and flooding with water (*jalavega*)[15]; the *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* speaks about fractures in the major and minor limbs of the idol, and damage caused by worms and fire. The idol is impure when it is destroyed, hollowed or broken, or stolen by thieves; it is spoiled and becomes polluted by impure substances such as purulent matter (pus, discharge from wounds, etc.), excrement, blood, alcohol; it also could be cracked, unfixed or worn out due to the passage of time; the same applies also to the temples.[16]

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[15] *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.114:

kṣmābhedajalavegādyaiḥ patitaṃ bhagavadgṛham |
prāgbimbasahitaṃ tasmād deśād anyatra kalpayet || 19.114

"The house of Bhagavān destructed by the cleft of the ground,
flooding with water and others,
[while] previously provided with an image, one, [having removed it]
from this place, should create/establish [it] in an other place."

[16] *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* 17.10cd-13:

aṅgopāṅgādibhinne tu kṛmivahnyādidūṣite || 17.10
naṣṭe sasuṣire bhagne corair apahṛte 'pi ca |
pūyaviṇmūtrarudhiraiḥ surayā cāpi dūṣite || 17.11
sphuṭite calite bimbe jīrṇe kālavaśād dvija |
doṣair anyais tathā duṣṭe nadīvegādibhis tu vā|| 17.12
pīṭhe bhinne tathā jīrṇe devyor vā jīrṇayor api |
prāsāde 'śaninā bhagne jīrṇe kālavaśād yadi || 17.13

"If [the major] and minor limbs are broken, destroyed by worms,
fire etc.,
if it [the idol] is destroyed, has holes, is broken or if it is stolen by
thieves,
spoiled by a discharge from a wound, by feces and urine or blood,
as well as alcohol,
cracked, unstable, or the idol is worn out with the passage of time,
O Twice-born,
as well as spoiled by the other faults or by the flooding with water etc.,

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The *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, dedicating some parts, for example of chapters 36 and 38, to the topic of images and their treatment, points out that moving the images out of their places after installation, except in the case of damage, causes unrest (*jīrṇadoṣaṃ vinā caiva cālanaṃ yad aśāntikam*).[17] It also reads that the damage caused for example by the landslide or earthquake brings the destruction of the king, but if the *mantra*s are re-established after the renovation of the image, the prosperity regenerates (*tadastamitamantrāṇāṃ bhūyaḥ saṃsthāpane kṛte / udayaṃ jāyate*).[18]

The *Pādmasaṃhitā* also mentions several reasons for renovation and for the need of purification caused by the pollution in the temple. The purification can be accomplished by the ritual of sprinkling with water and it applies for example to the cases of polluting by impure

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if the pedestal is broken or old, or if both goddesses* are worn out, in the temple destroyed by a thunder and worn out with the passage of time (...)".

* Probably goddesses Bhūdevī and Śrīdevī, accompanying the Viṣṇu's idol, are meant here.

[17] *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* 36.431–432:

aparair aṣṭabhedasthair varṇair vā brāhmaṇādikaiḥ |
prasthāpitāś ca vidhivat pratimā yā nṛpottamaiḥ ||36. 431
pratibimbamayīṃ vyaktiṃ svayam evācyutena vā |
jīrṇadoṣaṃ vinā caiva cālanaṃ yad aśāntikam || 36.432

"The image which is installed according to the rules by others who belong to the eight divisions [members of other 8 divisions (?)] or *varṇa*s such as Brahmins and others,
or by eminent kings,
or [established] by Acyuta as a self-manifested representation,
its moving/displecement, if [it is] without a fault of damage, causes unrest."

[18] *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* 36. 433–435:

kṣatam utpātapūrvais tu doṣais tu nṛpanāśakṛt |
tadastamitamantrāṇāṃ bhūyaḥ saṃsthāpane kṛte || 36.433
udayaṃ jāyate śaśvacchāntaye kintu pauṣkara |
deśikendrair yathādhyātāḥ sūryendvanalasannibhāḥ || 36.434

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substances, animals etc.: "(...) in the case of polluting the temple by the contacts with unclean fluids, blood, excrements, or of living or dead dogs, jackals or dead corpses and if the idol [would be touched by them] (...)" (*viṇmūtrarudhirāpeyasparśadoṣe ca mandire // janane maraṇe caiva śvasṛgālaśavādibhiḥ / spṛṣṭe ca bimbe* (...)—PādS *cp* 17.44ab–45abc).

Among those whose touch and presence in the temple is polluting, the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* mentions people degraded from their social class (*patita*), sinners (*pātakin*), the leprous (*kuṣṭin*), epileptic (*apasmāra*), ill (*rogavan*), one-eyed (*kāṇa*), those suffering from eye illness called *bandha*[19] (*bāndha*), the dumb (*mūka*), deaf (*badhira*), limbless (*aṅgahīna*), the one not object to contac with unmarried women or those married to other men (*parastrīgamanāsakta*), an adulterine (*kuṇḍa*), a widow's bastard (*golaka*), menstruating women (*rajasvalā*), one of the lowest caste (*antyaja*); also the touch of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra requires bathing of the idol.[20]

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praviśanti ca mantreśāḥ praṇavadhvanisādhitāḥ |
karṣayanti vibhūtiṃ svāṃ kiñcitkālāntareṇa tu ||

"The damage [caused] by the faults being the results of the calamity [such as, for example, an earthquake] brings the destruction of the king.
If there is the re-installation of the *mantra*s of this damaged [image], the perpetual prosperity regenerates. But during the pacification,
O Pauṣkara,
properly evoked by the teachers and resembling the sun, moon and fire,
and accomplished by the sound of *praṇava*, these lords of *mantra*s enter [the images],
and [they] draw/infuse [their] own power [into them] after some time."

19 A disease which prevents the eyelids from closing.

20 *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.138-142:

patitaḥ pātakī vāpi kuṣṭhyapasmārarogavān |
kāṇo bāndhaś ca mūko vā badhiro vāṅgahīnakaḥ || 19.138
parastrīgamanāsaktaḥ kuṇḍo vā golako 'pi vā |
rajasvalāntyajādyaiś ca saṃspṛṣṭo gardabhādibhiḥ || 19.139

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Polluting requiring purification and caused by an improper or impure person (thief, Śūdra, etc.) is also mentioned in the *Pārameśvara-saṃhitā*;[21] the *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* mentions also Caṇḍālas, degraded, menstruating women, outcastes, carpenters and others as causing, with their touch, pollution which require purification.[22]

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spṛśec ced bhagavadbimbam adhamottamamārgataḥ |
saṃsrāpya devaṃ vidhivacchāntihomaṃ tathācaret || 19.140
etaiḥ praviṣṭe dhāmāntaḥ kuryād adhamamadhyamam |
snapanaṃ devadevasya śāntihomaṃ tathācaret || 19.141
kṣatrair viśyais tathā śūdrais tattatstrībhis tu vā dvijāḥ |
bimbe spṛṣṭe kramāt kuryāt snapanaṃ tv adhamottamam || 19.142

"If wicked/degraded, sinner or leprous, epileptic and ill,
one-eyed, suffering from *bandha* eye disease, dumb, deaf or limbless,
addicted to going to women who are unmarried or married to another man, an adulterine [or a son of the man other than her husband], or a widow's bastard,
the one touched by a menstruating woman, or touched by the one of the lowest cast or by the [cow-dung] beetle etc.,
touches the image of God, he [the priest], according to the method which is the supreme among inferior
having withdrawn the God according to the rule, should undertake *śantihoma*.
If they [the people mentioned above] enter the abode, one should perform the middle of the lowest [grade of the]
bathing of the God of gods and then he should perform *śantihoma*.
By Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras or their women, O, Brahmins
if the idol is touched, in due order one should do the bathing but the highest of the lowest"

[21] *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* 19.142:

kṣatrair viśyais tathā śūdrais tattatstrībhis tu vā dvijāḥ |
bimbe spṛṣṭe kramāt kuryāt snapanaṃ tv adhamottamam || 19.142

"By Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras or their women, O Brahmins, if the idol is touched, in due order one should do the highest of the lowest bathing."

[22] *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* 36.143-144:

caṇḍālapatitodakyāniṣādyai(-dai?)s takṣakādikaiḥ |
lobhād vā yadi vā mohāt sparśanaṃ cen munīśvara || 36.143

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Among animals causing pollution in the temple premises and of the idol itself, the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* enumerates cats (*biḍāla*), birds (*pakṣin*), for example crows (*kāka*), wild cock (*kuṃkkuṭa=kukkuṭa*?), vulture (*gṛdhra*), also firefly (*khadyota*), wasp (*bhṛṅga*), bee (*makṣikā*), but not an ant (*pipīlika*) or the like; among the polluting substances it mentions semen (*retas*), blood (*rudhira*), excrement (*viṇmūtra*), undrinkable liquids (?) (*apeya*) and meat (*māṃsa*).[23]

Different treatment of various types of idols and temples

The procedures of renovation, as presented in the Pāñcarātrika literature, differ according to various factors. Firstly, the texts differentiate the images and temples according to the way they came into existence, namely there is a special category of self-appearing, self-manifesting temples and images—*svayaṃvyakta/svavyakta/svayaṃbhuva*, which are especially valuable. The texts suggest special treatment of them, however, since they often add *ādi* in the compound (for example *svayaṃvyaktādi*), it would suggest that the rules refer not only to the *svayaṃavyakta* idols but also to other kinds of them. When one considers several passages from different Pāñcarātrika sources, one can see that sometimes they are not very clear in this matter, for example the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* reads:

> "Listen, O Best of the wise ones, I will tell [you] about the rule of renovation for self-manifesting [idols] as well as those created by gods, by *siddha*s, by *ṛṣi*s and by men.
> For the images which are self-manifested and others, in the case of a big damage or a small one,

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prāsādaprokṣaṇenaiva prāsādaṃ śuddhyate 'tra vai |
atha vā muniśārdūla pañcagavyaṃ samānayet || 36.144

The *Īśvarasaṃhitā* mentions those who cause the pollution in verses 19.155cd–157ab.

[23] *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* 19.363–369. Similarly, in passage 19.409–412 it orders also purification of the ground in the case of pollution caused by dead animals in the temple premises.

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repairing of the fracture should be done, but they should never be abandoned.
Even if there is no possibility of repairing, it should not be thrown away, O best of Munis.
The same as [the broken parts of] a *sāligrāma* stone image, split or broken [and] very much destroyed
or slightly destroyed, with a golden slab/plate/strip [to make it] stronger, should be joined/unite/fixed; in such a way [one should proceed in the case of] self-manifested and others."[24]

And further the same text reads:

"In the case of the self-manifested and others or even those created by gods or *siddhas*
the idol, temple, courtyard, gate, door, pavillion,
pedestal, kitchen or even the treasure-house
provided with [proper] features or even deprived of them [without them],
if they are old, one should re-create [them] in accordance with the previous shape.
In doing otherwise, O Brahmins, there would be a great offence."[25]

In another passage the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* reads that at least purifying sprinkling is compulsory in the case of the self-manifested, and other, idols:

"Having renovated, according to the rules, the idol painted or made of clay, one should re-install it in the case of the self-manifested and others.
Even without renovating, for the painted idol and others, like previously,

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[24] *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.50-53:

svayaṃvyakte tathā divye saiddhe cārṣādyamānuṣe |
jīrṇoddhāravidhiṃ vakṣye śṛṇudhvaṃ munisattamāḥ || 19.50
svayaṃvyaktādibimbānāṃ mahāṅge vā hy upāṅgake |
bhagne sandhānam <saṃdhānam> eva syāt tyāgas tu na kadācana || 19.51
sandhānāyogyam <saṃdhānāyogyam> api tan na tyājyaṃ munisattamāḥ |
sāligrāmaśalābiṃbaṃ <sāligrāmaśalābimbaṃ> bhinnaṃ bhagnaṃ bṛhat kṣatam || 19.52
alpakṣataṃ ca sauvarṇaiḥ paṭṭair dṛḍhataraṃ yathā |
bandhayec ca tathaivaiṣu svayaṃvyaktādikeṣv api || 19.53

[25] *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.106cd-109ab:

svayaṃvyaktādike vāpi devasiddhādikalpite || 19.106
bimbe vimāne prākāre gopure dvāri maṇṭape |

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one should perform sprinkling etc.; by this one purifies [it]"[26]

Similarly the *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* in the chapter 15 reads that the re-installation of the self-manifested and the *muni*-made idols is not needed:

"One should not perfom consecration (*pratiṣṭhāpana*)[27] for the [idol] of the *svayamvyakta* type [and ?] the one made by *muni*s.
If the idol and the temple are broken or old, one should not dispose/get rid of it."[28]

The *Īśvarasaṃhitā* in chapter 19 refers also to damaged temples:

"The renovation of the self-manifested abodes and others will be presented [now].
If there is a fracture in one place in the temple etc., the gods which are established there
should not be invoked into another place; one worships them right there.

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pīṭhe vā pacanāvāse kośāgārādike 'pi vā || 19.107
lakṣaṇair anvite vāpi lakṣaṇair ujjhite 'pi vā |
jīrṇe punas tathā kuryāt pūrvarūpānusārataḥ || 19.108
anyathā karaṇe viprāḥ pratyavāyo mahān bhavet |

[26] *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.158-159:

citramṛṇmayabimbaṃ tu navīkṛtya yathāvidhi |
punaḥ pratiṣṭhāṃ kurvīta svayaṃvyaktādikeṣu ca || 19.158
citrabimbādikaṃ cāpi na navīkṛtya pūrvavat |
saṃprokṣaṇādikaṃ kuryāt tat tu tenaiva śudhyati || 19.159

Īśvarasaṃhitā 19.54–19.83 refers also to the renovation according to the material the idol was made of.

[27] Here probably one kind of installation is meant, namely the one for a movable idol, which is mentioned for example in the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*: *sthāpanāsthāpanā caiva tathā saṃsthāpanā punaḥ / prasthāpanā ca pañcoktāḥ pratiṣṭhāpanayā saha* // 15.2 *sthitāsānaśayānānāṃ yānagasya calasya ca / yā kriyā pañcadhā proktā sā pratiṣṭheti kīrtitā* // 15.3—"*sthāpanā*, *āsthāpanā* as well as *saṃsthāpanā* and *prasthāpanā*—five are named together with *pratiṣṭhāpanā*. For the standing, sitting, laying, running on the cart and movable [idol], the ceremony is fivefold—it is known as *pratiṣṭhā*."

[28] *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* 15.254:

na pratiṣṭhāpanaṃ kuryāt svavyakte munikalpite |
bhinne jīrṇe 'thavā bimbe prāsāde vā na tat tyajet || 15.254

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Having united the one-break damage, he should perform sprinkling, O Brahmins.
In the case of the temple destroyed everywhere, the gods residing there should be worshipped, having been invoked onto the pedestal of the main idol.
Even with the old bricks etc. and with the things of this kind/similar with the new ones and even bigger { ? -*gilita*} should [one] then create the temple.
Of which material was the old *vimāna* and with which features it was provided,
then [the *vimāna*] of that kind one should [re-]create, and not otherwise.
Having installed according to the rules a re-created *vimāna* and others, one should perform sprinkling etc. for the God, O Munis.[29]"

In the case of damages to the pedestal, the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* (49.439cd–440ab), also using the compound with *ādi*, suggests disposal, not renovation:

"For the idols of the *svayaṃvyakta* and other [kinds], if there is a break in the pedestal,
having abandoned the broken pedestal, one should then prepare another one."[30]

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[29] *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.100cd–106ab:

svayaṃvyaktādike dhāmni jīrṇoddhāras tu vakṣyate || 19.100
prāsādāder ekadeśabhaṅgaś cet tatra saṃsthitāḥ |
devās tv anyatra nodvāhyāḥ pūjayann eva tatra tāḥ || 19.101
bhagnaikadeśaṃ sandhāya <saṃdhāya> kuryāt samprokṣaṇaṃ <saṃprokṣaṇaṃ> dvijāḥ |
prāsāde sarvato bhagne prāsādasthās tu devatāḥ || 19.102
mūlabimbasya pīṭhe tu samāvāhya samarcayan |
prāktanair eveṣṭakādyais tatsajātīyavastubhiḥ || 19.103
nūtanaiś cāpi gilitaiḥ prāsādaṃ kalpayet punaḥ |
pūrvaṃ vimānaṃ yaddravyaṃ yādṛglakṣaṇasaṃyutam || 19.104
tādṛg eva punaḥ kuryān na kuryād anyathā punaḥ |
punaḥ kṛtaṃ vimānādyaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya yathāvidhi || 19.105
samprokṣaṇādikaṃ kuryād devasya munipuṅgavāḥ | 19.106 ab

[30] *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* 49.439cd-440ab:

svayaṃvyaktādibimbānāṃ pīṭhabhaṅgo bhaved yadi || 49.439
bhagnaṃ pīṭhaṃ parityajya punar anyaṃ prakalpayet |

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As for the damages of the self-manifested idols themselves, the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* recommends sprinkling in the case of renovating of the old one and installation in the case of an exchange for a new idol:

> "If there is uniting/repair of the man-made or self-manifested idol,
> having united [it], one should perform sprinkling, but there is no other rule.
> If there is a new one, one should perform the installation of the whole idol.
> The renovation of the temple, pavilion and others is [also] explained here."[31]

The *Nāradīyasaṃhitā*, though, says that first of all there is no need for the installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the *svavykta* idol and the one established by the *muni*s, but also there is no possibility of getting rid of it, if broken.[32] Further on it reads that there are three different rules concerning broken images of different kinds, namely *mānuṣa*, *arṣaka* and *svavyakta*.[33] Nevertheless, further on, the text does not develop this idea and, what is more, suggests that the procedures for different types of images are not different, and reads:

> "In this way one should proceed if the temple created by the *siddha*s
> is damaged.
> In the same way if the self-manifested idol or temple, O Twice-born,
> is damaged, one should proceed; and if the temple and others

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[31] *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* 49.443cd-444ab:

mānuṣe vā svayaṃvyakte saṃdhānaṃ vigrahe yadi || 49.443
saṃdhāya prokṣaṇaṃ kāryaṃ na ca tv anyo vidhir bhavet |
nūtanaṃ cet pratiṣṭhaiva sarvabimbasya kārayet || 49.444
prāsādamaṇḍapādīnāṃ jīrṇoddhāra ihocyate |

[32] *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* 15.254:

na pratiṣṭhāpanaṃ kuryāt svavyakte munikalpite |
bhinne jīrṇe 'thavā bimbe prāsāde vā na tat tyajet || 15.254

[33] *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* 17.2cd-3ab:

vidhānaṃ jīrṇabimbānāṃ trividhaṃ parikīrtitam || 17.2
mānuṣaṃ cārṣakaṃ caiva svavyaktam iti bhedataḥ |

"The rule [concerning] broken images is described as threefold: for a man-made [type], for a *ṛṣi*-made [type] and for a self-manifested one (*svavyakta*) separately."

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[are damaged], no otherwise, O Eminent."[34]

Therefore, as can be seen from the quotations above, Pāñcarātrika texts are not always consistent and clear on this issue, though the tendency of distinguishing the self-manifested idols and temples as better than others and, in consequence, requiring special treatment, is to be seen.

Renovation procedures — material repair *versus* ritualistic procedures

Renovation of the temples and images, especially of the main ones (*mūlamūrti/mūlavigraha/mūlabera*), is a complicated process, which requires not only material repair but also particular ritualistic procedures, among them those enabling temporary removal of the god, or rather his potencies, from the temple or from the idol into another place.[35] Therefore, one of the characteristic ceremonies is that of transferring divine potencies into the vessels of water called *kumbha*. As the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* reads, the potency, if the period of repair is short, could be removed into a vessel, but if it takes longer, the construction of a provisional pavilion and image is needed.[36] After the renovation,

[34] *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* 17.79-80ab:

evaṃ jīrṇavimāne tu saṃskuryāt siddhanirmite |
evam eva svayaṃ vyakte bimbe vāyatane dvija || 17.79
jīrṇe kuryād vimānādau nānyathā dvijapuṅgava |

[35] S.A.S. Sarma, presenting the process of renovation in the Keralan context, distinguishes between its several elements, for example *jīvodvāsana*—"extracting the life from the idol", *bimboddhāra*—"uninstalling the damaged idol from its pedestal", *jīvāvāhana*—invoking the potencies back to the idol, etc.; see Sarma (forthcoming).

[36] *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 19.26cd-29ab:

jīrṇabimbagatāṃ śaktiṃ kumbhe tv āvāhya deśikaḥ || 19.26
kurvann abhyarcanaṃ tatra bimbasandhānam <bimbasaṃdhānam> ācaret |
māsād arvāksamādhāne kumbhe śaktiṃ samarcayet || 19.27
tadūrdhvaṃ dvādaśābdāntaṃ [em.; *dvādaśābhāntaṃ* ed.] *samādhāna-vilambane |*

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the god's potency goes back to the temple and image. This is executed when the priests pour water from these vessels (*kumbhābhiṣeka*) over the image or, in case of renovation of the temple, climb the temple tower and pour down water.

Abhiṣeka is one of the most spectacular rituals performed in the temples. This rite, referring to the Vedic times, when sprinkling was also an important element of the ritual,[37] sometimes has another function and is interpreted differently as a rite adding potency to the images which during long service are liable to impurity and loss of power. It applies especially to the processional idols, which, in addition, leave the temple premises and can face unpredictable events causing impurity, but it also applies to the main, permanent idol, which is visited by so many worshippers that it is difficult to control them fully, therefore among them improper or unauthorized persons could appear, jeopardizing the purity of the place.[38]

Several Pāñcarātrika texts dedicate whole separate chapters or longer passages to the topic of renovation, for example the *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* (chapter 36 entitled *jīrṇoddhāravidhi*—"the rule [concerning] renovation"), the *Pādmasaṃhitā* (*caryāpāda* chapter 17 entitled

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kṛtvā bālagṛhaṃ tatra bālabiṃbaṃ <bālabimbaṃ> yathāvidhi || 19.28
saṃsthāpya tatra tacchaktiṃ samāvāhya samarcayet |

"The teacher, having invoked into the vessel the potency contained in the damaged image,
doing worship there should undertake the repair of the idol.
If the repair takes place within one month, he should worship the potency in the vessel.
If it is longer and ends within 12 years [or] in case of a delay in repair, having prepared a provisional pavilion and a provisional idol there, according to the rules,
having installed [it] and having invoked this potency, there he should worship it."

[37] See for example Tsuchiyama 2005.

[38] For the question of the divine presence in his representations and the question of "renovation" of the divine potency in the Śaiva tradition one can consult for example Fuller 2004 and Davis 2000.

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jīrṇoddhārasaṃprokṣaṇavidhi—"the rule concerning renovation and consecration [sprinkling]"), the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* (chapter 24), the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* (in chapter 19; especially verses 1–180), the *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* (chapter 17 entitled *jīrṇāsaṃskāravidhi*—"the rule [concerning] the ritual of renovation"), the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* (longer passages in the chapters 15.915–957 and 19.350–520), the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* (chapter 49.406–489) and the *Viśvāmitrasaṃhitā* (chapter 23 entitled *jīrṇoddhāravidhi*).

The *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* in chapter 36 (*jīrṇoddhāravidhi*) contains elaborate passage concerning renovation of temples and idols, but also comprises many additional notes about maintaining purity and holiness in the god's abodes as well as about the proper executors of the ritualistic activities:

> "Let him undertake the renovation of the damaged [idols] together with a skilful artisan.
> Otherwise, due to ignorance, he will cause damage to the village, loss of property, destruction of the place[39]—there is no doubt about it.
> Therefore, one should firstly remove the Great Hari, who resides in the temple, from the image according to the rule
> and, therefore, one should attentively commence the withdrawal of potency (*śakti*).
> In this way enshrining the highest divinity of the temple in the provisional/alternate pavilion[40], in the surroundings of the temple (*prākāra*),
> or in the pavilions of the attending deities (*parivāra*) in the outer surroundings, in such a way, according to the described method one should perform preliminary ceremony (*adhivāsana*).[41]
> In this way the shortly described renovation of the damaged [idols and temples] should be performed.

[39] This could mean destruction of the place of living, as well as the temple.

[40] Literally "pavilion of removal". It is, possibly, equivalent of the *bālālaya*, the provisional temple pavilion which replaces the actual sanctuary. For *bālālaya* see also footnote 3, p. 44 in the D. Smith's edition of the *Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhana*. In other contexts the term could be also understood differently and Smith (*Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhana* edition, footnote 36 pp. 158–159) mentions that the term *vinodamaṇḍapa* could also mean "pleasure-recreation hall".

[41] A ritual taking place the day before the actual ceremony and preparing for its proper performance. See for example TAK vol. I.

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> Now I will present major rules concerning renovation of damages [and the role] of a teacher, founder and master in craft,[42] O great wise man."[43]

One of the crucial elements of the forthcoming process of renovation is the proper treatment of the old idol.[44] The potency of the idol has to be secured and to enable it some preliminary acts are needed, such as preparation of a provisional place, a temporary abode for performing the ritual (*vinodamaṇḍapa=bālālaya*), providing the proper place for the withdrawal of potency from the idol (or temple) usually into

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[42] The term *takṣa* applies mainly to the work in wood and stone.

[43] *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* 36.41–47:

evam uktaprakāreṇa śaktim udvāsya nārada |
jīrṇoddhāraṃ tataḥ kuryāt śilpinā kuśalena tu || 36.41
anyathā kurute mohāt grāmanāśo dhanakṣayaḥ |
sthānanāśo bhavet tatra saṃbhaven nātra saṃśayaḥ || 36.42
tasmāt sarvaprayatnena vimānasthaṃ hariṃ param |
udvāsayen mahābere kramāt pūrvaṃ yathāvidhi || 36.43
tasmāt sarvaprayatnena śaktyudvāsanam ārabhet |
mārgeṇaikena saṃyojya prāsādasyādhidaivatam || 36.44
vinodamaṇḍapaṃ caiva vapraprākārake tathā |
parivārālayādyeṣu bahiḥprākārake tathā || 36.45
evam uktaprakāreṇa kārayed adhivāsanam |
evaṃ saṃkṣepataḥ proktaṃ jīrṇoddhāram athārabhet || 36.46
ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi jīrṇoddhāravidhiṃ param |
ācāryaṃ yajamānaṃ ca takṣācāryaṃ mahāmune || 36.47

[44] An interesting example of the treatment of an old main image of god is connected with the Adi Varadarāja image from the Varadarāja temple in Kāñcīpuram. It was made of wood from Atti tree (*Ficus Glomerata*) and thus was called Atti Varadar or Ādi Atti Varadar. In about the 15th century A.D. it was replaced or rather displaced into the tank, while a new one, made of stone, replaced it in the temple. The old image is therefore still kept in the temple in its holy tank and is removed once in 40 years. On this occasion a ceremony called *maṇḍala ārādhana* is conducted; see, for example, Raman 1975. I would like to thank Prof. Ute Hüsken for drawing my attention to this special treatment of the old image and for the information that this particular old *mūrti* is considered by the followers as a very powerful and effective form of god.

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a vessel, in which it will be safely kept untill the moment of the re-installation of the idol.

Afterwards the *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* gives a realtively thorough description of the details concerning the reparation of idols with different damage and made of different types of material:

> "If a clay idol is damaged, [its wooden or metal] frame (*śūla*),[45] clay, cloth or cord[46], they should be recreated from clay or one should order to make them of stone.
> If a stone image is damaged [its parts should be recreated] with metal or stone.
> If an image of jewels is damaged [it should be recreated] with gold or silver.
> [Images] of wood, clay, stone, metal/iron and others, golden and made of jewels in [this] order
> are considered better and better, beginning from the first one.
> [Images] of gold and jewels by some are considered equal,
> others as equal [consider images] of stone and metal, O Divine Muni.
> Golden, silver, made of copper are the same, O Nārada.
> One should order to create processional (*utsava*) images and others, knowing that they are called metal ones.
> If he [renovates them] according to the wish of the founder, [he creates them] according [their, namely founders"] wealth.
> And then, O Best of *muni*s, he does not use lead or iron."[47]

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[45] The sculptures have inside it a kind of supporting core or frame, which can be made of wood or metal. The description of the technique of making idols can be found for example in Sthapati 2002, pp. 223–232.

[46] Cloth and cords should be wrapped around the core-frame.

[47] *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* 36.48–53:
mṛṇmayapratimājīrṇe śūlamṛtpaṭarajjavaḥ |
punas tu mṛṇmayāḥ kāryā śilayā vāpi kārayet || 36.48
śailajapratimājīrṇe lohajāḥ śailajās tathā |
ratnajapratimājīrṇe sauvarṇaṃ vāpi rājatam || 36.49
dārumṛcchailalohādyā rukmaratnādikāḥ kramāt |
uttamā iti vijñeyā uttarottaram agrataḥ || 36.50
rukmaṃ ratnaṃ samānaṃ ca kecid āhur manīṣiṇaḥ |
śilālohaṃ ca sadṛśaṃ devarṣe iti kecana || 36.51
hāṭakaṃ rajataṃ tāmraṃ samānam iti nārada |
lohaśabdena saṃjñātvā kārayed utsavādikam || 36.52
yajamānasya vāñchā [corr.; *vācchā* ed.] *cet yathāvittānusārataḥ (!) |*
asmin munivaraśreṣṭha trapukaṃ cāyasaṃ vinā || 36.53

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In addition, in a further passage, the *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* describes the features needed for a Brahmin to be entitled to perform rites in the temple, among them the installation. Here, apart from knowledge, many mental qualities, physical or physiological aspects as well as the appearance are also considered. The text says that among other things he should be patient (*dānta*), satisfied with whatever comes to hand (*yadṛcchālābhatoṣaka*), controlling his anger (*jitakrodha*), full of devotion (*bhaktimat*). He should not be ill (*sarvarogavivarjita*) or bald (*śipi*), he should not be small but also not too tall (*hrasvākāra, atidīrgha*), and nice and healthy nails (*varjayed devakāryeṣu kunakhī ca viśeṣataḥ*) are also important for someone who is supposed to touch the image of god.[48]

Yet another important Pāñcarātrika text, elaborately describing the ritual, namely the *Pādmasaṃhitā* in chapter 17 of its *caryāpāda*, entitled "the rule [concerning] renovation and consecration" (*jīrṇoddhārasaṃprokṣaṇavidhi*), also includes the description of the process of renovation, though it is less detailed. It, for example, forbids the removal of images that could still be repaired (*samādhātavya*), but if they are devoid of limbs (*hīnāṅga*), they should be thrown away and new ones should be created (*hitvā tāni punaḥ sṛjet*). Even if only some repairs are to be done, the god's potency should be invoked away into a *kumbha* vessel and after renovation and finishing preparatory acts, one should undertake installation.[49] An image made of metal which is to be thrown away should be melted down and only then one can create a new one. If the image of god is damaged, during the process of

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The ViṣvS continues the topic in verses 36.54–92.

[48] ViṣvS 36.93–117ab.

[49] PādS *cp* 17.15:
kumbhe śaktiṃ samāvāhya nirmāya ca yathāpuram |
adhivāsādikaṃ sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhāyām ivācaret ||
"Having invoked the [god's] potency into the *kumbha* vessel and after making [repairs] as previously,
one should undertake all preliminary acts etc. as during
the installation."

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recreation of a new one, the goddesses previously accompanying him should be united with him again and there is no need to create new idols of the goddesses.[50] If parts such as a halo, pedestal and other elements of the image or attributes such as the *cakra* are weak, not very solid and unstable/moveable, the image should not be worshipped unless repaired. In such a case the potency of the [subsidiary] image should also be removed to the main image or into the vessel.[51] The old pedestal can serve for the installation of the new image or, if it is also damaged, a new one is to be used.[52] A provisional, small temple (*bālālaya*)

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[50] PādS *cp* 17.7–8ab:

tyaktaṃ ca lohajaṃ bimbaṃ dāvayitvā punaḥ sṛjet |
deve jīrṇe punaḥsṛṣṭau devyaḥ prācyo yathāsthitāḥ || 17.7
tābhir eva punar yojyo devo nānyāḥ sṛjet punaḥ | 17.8ab

"One, having melted down the metal image to be thrown away, should then recreate it.
If the damaged [image of] God is recreated, if there were accompanying goddesses proviously established,
with them again the God should be united; other ones should not be created."

[51] PādS *cp* 17.9–10abc:

prabhāpadmāsanādīnāṃ vaikalye calane `pi vā |
āyudhe `pi ca cakrādau yaṣṭavyo nāsamāhitaḥ || 17.9
udvāsya pratimāśaktiṃ mūlabere ghaṭe `pi vā |
cakrādeś ca samādhānaṃ kāryaṃ | 17.10c

"If the halo, lotus [-like] pedestal and others are imperfect or even movable and if the weapon, discus and other [attributes are damaged], one should not worship an imperfect [idol]. After removal of the potency of the idol into the main idol or even into a vessel,
one should undertake repair to the discus and other [attributes]."

[52] PādS *cp* 17.11cd–13:

bimbe purātane jīrṇe navabimbaṃ kṛtaṃ yadi || 17.11
taṃ pīṭhe sthāpayed devaṃ na doṣaḥ padmasambhava |
pīṭhe `py anūtane jīrṇe navaṃ kṛtvā yathāpuram || 17.12
tadbimbaṃ sthāpayet pīṭhe pratiṣṭhākarmabhiḥ sadā |
na doṣas tatra vijñeyaḥ prabhādīnāṃ caturmukha || 17.13

"If the idol is damaged and old and when the new one is prepared,
then [the image of] the god should be placed on the pedestal. By [doing] this

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should be prepared and there the power from the damaged idol should be invoked into the new image. The priest should suspend offerings to Viṣṇu and the old, damaged idol should be buried in the earth or thrown into the water.[53]

If the temple itself is damaged, the god in his main *mūrti* should be worshipped together with his attendants in the provisional temple. If both the main idol and the temple are destroyed, attending deities should be removed to the main *mūrti*. Less important idols should not be neglected and removed from the temple which is not damaged. When the main idol and the idol for daily offerings (*kautuka*) are destroyed, the other gods should not be removed into another place.[54]

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he does not commit an offence, O Lotus-born.
Even if the pedestal is old and destroyed, having made a new one as previously, one should place the image on the pedestal always with [the accompaniament of] the installation ceremony.
Then he does not commit an offence [connected with the usage of the damaged] halo and other [elements], O Four-faced."

[53] PādS *cp* 17.14–15ab:

bālālayaṃ kalpayitvā tatra śailādivastuṣu |
bimbe tu śaktim āvāhya jīrṇebhyaḥ pūjanaṃ hareḥ || 17.14
tyaktaṃ ca bimbaṃ nikhanet kṣitau vāmbhasi nikṣipet |

"Having constructed a provisional temple of stone or other materials, having invoked the potency from the damaged [figures] to the idol, the worship of Hari one should abandon. He should bury the image in the earth or throw it into the water".

[54] PādS *cp* 17.15cd–18ab:

prāsāde cāpi śithile pūjayed bālaveśmani || 17.15
upetaṃ parivāraiḥ svair devaṃ mūle yathā tathā |
ujjīrṇe [corr.; *ujīrṇe* ed.] *dhruvabimbe tu jīrṇe dhāmani ca sthitān* || 17.16
devān devaparīvārān mūlabere niveśayet |
ajīrṇadhāmaniṣṭhānāṃ jīrṇe tu dhruvakautuke || 17.17
nodvāso 'nyatra kartavyo devādīnāṃ caturmukha |

"If the temple is damaged, one should worship in the provisional dwelling the God in the main form together with his companions, according to possibilities.
If the main image is destroyed and the building,

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The text says also, that the fruit of both ceremonies, namely the first installation and the re-installation of the renovated idol is the same, and this applies also to the renovation of the temple and other elements. If during the ceremony improper texts are used, the agents of the ritual acts are improper as well as the idols themselves, it will bring destruction of subjects, their king and kingdom.[55] At the time of installation of several images after their renovation, the same procedures are applied. The sacrificial idol[56] is placed on the altar (*vedi*) or in the pavilion, but the preliminary acts and bath are not performed, as well as the ceremony of the opening of the eyes of the idol, and the withdrawal and imposition of the *tattva* elements are not needed.[57] All the acts prescribed in the texts should be duly executed and when the main image is ready, the same, already known procedures should be followed. First the temporary image and the processional idol

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one should transfer the deities, God's companions, established [there] into the main image.
When the temple is undamaged but the main image and processional ones are destroyed,
the accompanying gods residing there should not be removed elsewhere, O Four-faced".

[55] PādS *cp* 17.33cd–35ab:

apūrvakalpane jīrṇe samuddhāre dvayor api || 17.33
tulyaṃ phalaṃ kalpanānāṃ dhāmāder nāsti saṃśayaḥ |
tantrādhikārimūrtīnāṃ vyatyaye [em. Varada Desikan (ÉFEO, Pondicherry); *vyatyaje* ed.] *kalpite punaḥ* || 17.34
nṛṇāṃ narapateś cāpi rāṣṭrasya ca bhavet kṣayaḥ |

"When it is created for the first time and when the destroyed [buildings] are renovated, of both [these activities]
The fruit is the same, [in the case of] the construction of the abode [of God] and others—there is no doubt [about it].
When improper texts, executors and images are used,
it causes the fall of subjects and the king, as well as the kingdom."

[56] The term *karmārcā*, which is usually synonymous with *kautukabera*, means a type of image, one of several which are used in the temples. It is meant for offerings. See also TAK vol. II.

[57] These are the elements of the regular, first installation (*pratiṣṭhā*).

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should be honoured and then the potency of god should be invoked into the vessel which is worshipped after placing it on the mould of grains of rice. At a proper time the god's potency should be invoked back into the main idol according to the procedures described in the *śāstras*.[58]

Accompanying deities are placed only in the water of the vessel called *kumbha*. The one acting in such a way brings prosperity to all.[59]

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[58] PādS *cp* 17.35cd–39:

bahuberapratiṣṭhāyāṃ jīrṇoddhāre yathāpuram || 17.35
karmārcāṃ sthāpayed vedyāṃ śāyayec cāpi maṇḍape |
nādhivāso jale kāryo na netronmīlanaṃ tathā || 17.36
na tattvasaṃhārotpādau sarvaṃ karmāny athācaret |
mūlabimbaṃ samāsādya prāgvat sarvaṃ samācaret || 17.37
bālakautukam abhyarcya yātrāmūrtiś ca [ms M_2; *yātrāmanyatra* ed.] *tadgatām* |
śaktiṃ kumbhe samāvāhya kumbhaṃ dhānyasthitaṃ punaḥ || 17.38
abhyarcya samaye prāpte mūlabere guruḥ svayam |
śaktiṃ niveśayec chāstradṛṣṭena vidhinā harau || 17.39

"During the installation of many images and during renovation as previously the image [which in the meantime] is worshipped, should be installed on the altar and laid down in the pavilion.
The preliminary ceremony is not needed, neither a bath, nor [the ceremony of] eyes' opening,
or [the ceremony] of removal and [subsequent] imposition of elements *tattva*. One should perform all the [prescribed] acts.
When one has the main image made, one should execute everything as previously.
Having worshipped the provisional image for daily offerings as well as the processional image,
having invoked the potency [residing there] into a *kumbha* vessel, then this *kumbha*, placed on the [pile of] grains,
having been worshipped [by him], when the [right] time comes, into the main image the teacher himself
transfers the potency into Hari, according to the rule of the *śāstra*."

[59] PādS *cp* 17.40:

kumbhatoyāv aśeṣeṇa parivāraprakalpanam |
utsavaṃ kārayed ante sarvaśāntikaro hi saḥ ||

"One should place all accompanying deities in the water of

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Yet another Pāñcarātrika text, with Keralan affiliation, the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*,[60] refers elaborately to the renovation ceremony. In its chapter 24 (24.3) the text compares the renovation of the idols and the god's change of place of residence with the act of abandoning the body by the soul:

> *dehaṃ dehī yathā jīrṇaṃ tyaktvā dehāntaraṃ vrajet |*
> *tyaktvā jīrṇaṃ tathā bimbaṃ devo `pi bhajate navam ||*
>
> "Same as the dweller of the body, abandoning the old one, heading towards the other [new] one,
> in the same way, disusing the old image, God assumes the new one."

In the further part of the same 24th chapter of the ViṣṇuS one can find a relatively detailed description of the technique of the renovation of the idol, beginning with the removal of the old one[61]:

> "Accompanied by the priests, who follow him, the teacher himself removes the bindings of the pedestal[62] with a golden and clean plough, while [reciting] an eight-syllable *mantra*. [Treating the idol] as the remnants from the offerings, while lifting [the image, one recites]:

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the *kumbha*
[and] finally, one should mandate a festival—he is the one who brings about the prosperity for all."

[60] See for example Sarma (forthcoming).

[61] The description in the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* can be compared with Keralan texts, and the subject was treated by S.A.S. Sarma in his paper entitled "'Re-Installation' of idols replacing damaged ones, with special reference to the ritual literature of Kerala", presented at the International *Conference Consecration Rituals in South Asia*, 19–20 October 2012, Department of Archaeology and Religious Studies, The Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim (to be published soon). I am grateful to Dr. S.A.S. Sarma [ÉFEO, Pondicherry] for providing me with the text of his unpublished article.

[62] In the beginning the pedestal, if it is for example made of clay or cement, is not firm, therefore before the material stiffens, it should be wrapped around, usually with a rope, to keep its shape. After stiffening of the material of which the pedestal has been made, the wrapping should be removed.

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'I am Viṣvaksena.[63]
"Making [his] thoughts fixed and reciting *bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ,*
the *sādhaka* should take out the idol from the hollow using a device.
Reciting Vedic hymns, with music and shouting *jaya* many times,
with dance, singing and laughing, one should lead the idol outside.
Having covered it up with a delicate new cloths,
having executed rituals (*upacāra*),[64] together with [*mantra*] *gāyatrī,*
ended with *praṇavamantra* and with other [concluding formulas],
on the right side [to the south], after heaping up a quadrangle elevation (*sthaṇḍila*) with sand,
and after dredging it with sesame seed and *darbha* grass, he should order to lay the idol down there.
Let him purify it with water, let him worship it with perfumes, flowers and other [substances].
Having walked around [it] three times in the direction opposite/reverse to *pradakṣiṇa*, one should dredge [it] with sesame seeds and rice.
Then, having covered [the image] with other delicate cloths and putting [it] on the vehicle/mount *vāhana*
adorned with an umbrella, flag and banners and ornamented with fans,
with the accompaniment of exclamations of nobles, one should lead [it] to the river which tends to the sea.
Then, meditating deeply on the four-armed Viṣvaksena
[using] his *mantra* ending with [the word] *namas*, one should throw the idol into the water.
The pedestal and the *brahmaśilā* stone should be considered as impure [namely as the remnants from the offering] (*nirmālya*)."[65]

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[63] Viṣvaksena is the one to whom the remnants of the offerings in the temple belong.

[64] TAK vol. I.

[65] *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* 24.36–45ab:
āvartayadbhir ṛtvigbhir ācāryaḥ sahitaḥ svayam |
visṛjya pīṭhikābandhaṃ sauvarṇair lāṅgalaiḥ śubhaiḥ || 24.36
aṣṭākṣareṇa nirmālyaṃ viṣvakseno 'ham uddhare |
iti kṛtvā sthirāṃ buddhiṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ suvar om iti || 24.37
gartād utthāpayed bimbaṃ yantrayogena sādhakaḥ |
vedastotrajapais tūryair jayaśabdaiś ca puṣkalaiḥ || 24.38
nṛttagītāṭṭahāsaiś ca tato bimbaṃ nayed bahiḥ |
ahatair vasanaiḥ ślakṣṇaiḥ samantāt pariveṣṭya tu || 24.39
kṛtvopacāraṃ gāyattryā praṇavādyantaruddhayā |
dakṣiṇe sthaṇḍilaṃ kṛtvā saikataṃ caturaśrakam || 24.40

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The *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* continues its teaching referring to different types of damages:

"One should get rid of it if the arms of the idol are damaged,
if limbs are broken or deformed, one should get rid of it.
If a finger of one arm is broken, or two, one should not throw away the image.
If there are more [damages], one should get rid of it, and also if three [limbs/fingers] are broken.
Even if toe is broken, one [should do] like that, otherwise one should [re-]create it,[66]
or if it [the image] is ruptured, one should get rid of it, as well as if it is broken.
A finger, if damaged should be re-created with gold, or [if] two [fingers are damaged].
If a stone figure or metal one [is damaged], with copper or silver [it should be repaired].
If a weapon is broken, one should always re-create it with gold,
if a tiara or earrings [are damaged] and if cloths and other [elements are damaged], one should [re-create them].
If the image was abandoned, as [it happens] in the case of theft, one should undertake
an installation and perform offering; [even if] the pedestal is not damaged, it should not be re-used.
At the conclusion of the offering [one should prepare] fresh and pure substances, a pedestal (*piṇḍika*), water, spikes of crop [or corn]. There are two kinds of pedestals:
a stone one should be buried in a hollow, a wooden one should be burnt in the fire.
One should use jewels and prepare metal, and then should get rid of the clay [form]. One should throw all [the rest] and the clay [form]

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tilān vikīrya darbhāṃś ca pratimāṃ tatra śāyayet |
kṣālayet tatra tāṃ toyair gandhapuṣpaiś ca pūjayet || 24.41
trirapradakṣiṇaṃ kṛtvā satilais taṇḍulaiḥ kiret |
tato 'nyair vasanaiḥ ślakṣṇair ācchādyāropya vāhanam || 24.42
chatradhvajapatākābhiś cāmaraiś copaśobhitam |
mahājanaravair yuktaṃ nadīṃ sāgaragāṃ nayet || 24.43
tatrāgādhe tato dhyātvā viṣvaksenaṃ caturbhujam |
tanmantreṇa namo 'ntena bimbam apsu vinikṣipet || 24.44
pīṭhaṃ brahmaśilāṃ cāpi nirmālyam iti cintayet |

[66] It can be replaced or covered with metal.

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into the water.
If the image of God is broken, in the place where the temple is seen one should prepare another gold image.
One should worship according to the rule a metal [image] or [that made] of jewels, which was first installed [consecrated],"[67]

The above presented selected descriptions of the renovation of images and temples are usually detailed, though devoid of all technicalities connected with the production of the material objects, which is the domain of technical manuals on art and architecture. The thorough treatment of the topic indicates the importance and value of the acts which are connected with the re-creation of material objects but at the same time have a religious and ritualistic dimension. Therefore, similarly as in the case of the first installation and consecration ceremonies, they cannot be neglected and executed cursory and by those who are not properly prepared and entitled. The temples in which god resides and images in which he is present cannot be abandoned even if, with a passage of time, some damages should appear in them. It would be careless and dangerous to leave god's potencies in the places which do not fulfill all requirements determined by the texts, because they could get out of control of the entitled specialists and could bring disaster to the whole community related to the temple.

As observed in the above–mentioned passages from the Pāñcarātrika sources, the whole topic is usually structured according to the main issues, which are: the causes of the damage as well as of polluting, differences in the treatment of various images according to their origin and material they are created of; the ways of purifying, or, if needed, renovation or even replacement of the images. In these passages one learns also about dangers and calamities brought by particular kinds of deficiencies in images and god's abodes. Therefore, apart from

[67] *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* 24.61–70:
bāhucchede parityāgaḥ pratimāyāḥ kare tathā |
yasminn avayave bhagne vairūpyaṃ tatra tāṃ tyajet || 24.61
yady ekakaraśākhā tu bhagnā dve vātra na tyajet |
ataḥparaṃ parityāgas tricchede kauścid iṣyate || 24.62

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technicalities connected with the replacement of one object by another, more general information concerning the religious context is provided. The topic of renovation is important from the point of view of the temple cult, and especially with regard to the specific way of treating god's images in the Tantric traditions, among them Pāñcarātra. The strong belief in the real presence of god in his representations is one of the specific and crucial features which determine the peculiarity and identity of the tradition. It is Pāñcarātra, dominating the temple life of the Vaiṣṇavas in many regions of South India and especially Tamilnadu, which developed the concept of god's presence in his representations (*arcāvatāra*) and made it an indispensable element of the doctrine.[68]

Positioning the process of the construction and, if needed, re-construction of the temple in the context of an elaborate ritual enabling its functioning as a house of god gave this construction a special value. Supporting the physical, material installation of god's idol in the temple with additional group of elaborate ritualistic acts also underlined

pādaśākhāparicchede 'py evam anyatra kalpayet |
sphuṭite ca parityāgo bhinne ca parikīrtitaḥ || 24.63
sauvarṇīṃ sāṅguliḥ kāryā yā bhagnā dve ca te tathā |
lohādau cecchilābimbe tāmreṇa rajatena vā || 24.64
heticchede tu sarvatra sauvarṇaṃ tat prakalpayet |
makuṭe kuṇḍale caiva vastrādiṣu ca śasyate || 24.65
pratimāyāḥ parityāge corārhṛtivad iṣyate |
sthāpanaṃ pūjanaṃ cātra na grāhyaṃ pīṭham akṣatam || 24.66
anuyāge navāny eva dravyāṇi śubhadāni tu |
piṇḍikāpacchilādīni dvayoḥ pīṭhaṃ tu garhyate || 24.67
gahane nikhanecchailaṃ dāravaṃ vahninā dahet |
dadyād ratnaṃ ca lohaṃ ca kuryād vidrāvya vā punaḥ || 24.68
pārthivaṃ nikṣiped apsu sarvaṃ pārthivam eva vā |
bhagne bimbe 'pi devasya prāsādo yatra lakṣyate || 24.69
tatrāpi kārayed bimbaṃ sauvarṇam aparaṃ punaḥ |
lohajaṃ ratnajaṃ vāgre sthāpitaṃ vidhinārcayet || 24.70

[68] I referred to this issue as seen in the Pāñcarātra tradition as well as the Śrīvaiṣṇava and other Tantric traditions in my paper and article "At the crossroads of art and religion—image consecration in the Pāñcarātrika sources" (Czerniak-Drożdżowicz forthcoming).

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the extraordinary features and uniqueness of such representation. In the case of the South Indian Vaiṣṇava tradition, this uniqueness was understood and properly guarded by the Vaikhānasas and Pāñcarātrikas and that enabled them to establish a firm position of the officiating priests in the most of Vaiṣṇava temples in the South of India, especially in Tamilnadu. It also helped them to face the objections[69] of the unquestioned orthodox Brahmanical (Smārta) communities.

The material found in the Pāñcarātrika texts is supplementary to the descriptions known from the earlier literature of the *vedāṅga, śilpa-* and *vāstuśāstra*s as well as *purāṇa*s and in the case of the centres of the Vaiṣṇava tradition these texts were and are indispensable sources of the theoretical and practical knowledge about the treatment and management of the temple and idols, also those which got damaged or broken.[70]

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[69] I mean here for example the issue of the authoritativeness of the Pāñcarātra, sometimes questioned by the orthodoxy. It was expressed in the discussion taking place for several centuries and having its source in the *Brahmasūtra*, then commentaries of Śaṅkara and the response in defense of the Pāñcarāra which can be found in the works of Yāmunācārya, Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika.

[70] D. Smith wrote in his Foreword to the edition of the *Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhana* (p. XIX): "In comparing the two temple-building traditions—that of the *śilpaśāstra* technical handbooks and that of the *Pāñcarātrāgama* liturgical texts—while in the one the main attention is given over to measurements and technical directions to be used by artisans, in the other the building-activities are discussed mainly in terms of holy rituals performed by an officiating priest-foreman [*ācārya*]."

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How to Realize the Four Goals of Life by Means of *mantra*?

SUMMARY: The purpose of the present paper is to discuss a specific conceptualization of the four goals of human life, namely *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, known under the collective term *puruṣārtha*, in the terms of magical rites. Such conceptualization appears in the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, which, together with the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* and the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, is classified as the oldest available text of the Tantric Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra. It seems that the reason of such a strategy might be not, as it happens in the case of later *saṃhitās*, to refer simply to the orthodoxy for the sake of proving that the Pāñcarātra belongs to the religious mainstream, but, in a sense, to adjust the way of realization of the four goals of life to the requirements of a particular Tantric practice. Obviously, the manner of presenting consecutive *puruṣārthas* in the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* aims at securing a quick and purely ritualistic method of their fulfillment to the people who were not able to realize them in the traditional way, obediently passing through the successive stages of their life.

KEYWORDS: *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, Pāñcarātra, *siddhis*, *kalpa*, *puruṣārthasādhana*, *caturvarga*

Quite contrary to the later *saṃhitās*, where due to the general tendency of making the Tantric Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra conform to the Hindu orthodoxy the issue of magical powers (*siddhi*) is usually pushed to the background or simply omitted, the 17th chapter of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* (SātS), one of the oldest available texts of this school,[1] comprises a very thorough account of various rites leading to their acquisition. In this

[1] According to Sanderson, the currently available redactions of the "three gems" of the Pāñcarātra, i.e. the SātS, the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* (JayS)

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case they are closely related to the unique practice called "the procedure of worshipping [the *mantra* of] Narasiṃha belonging to *vibhava* deities" (*vaibhavīyanarasiṃhakalpa*) which is discussed in the same chapter. In line with the term *kalpa* constituting the last element of this compound/colophon, various powers are obtained by an advanced adept, called *sādhaka*, as a result of mastering the *mantra* that was conferred to him during the initiation; in this case it is the initiation called *narasiṃhadīkṣā*. This particular *dīkṣā*, described in the initial part of the same chapter (and referred to in the previous chapter, i.e. the SātS 16),[2] endows the *sādhaka* with the right (*adhikāra*) to conduct rites that provide him with all types of worldly aims (*bhoga/bhukti*) before he finally achieves liberation (*mokṣa/mukti*).

The general characteristic of the *sādhaka* which is given in the chapter about the features of respective entitlements of adepts[3] agrees with the pattern indicated in SātS 17: first of all, he is supposed to be already initiated, since this is a special *dīkṣā* which grants him the right to worship the *mantra*, further his practice should be based on a secret worship of the *mantra* which leads to identification with it and then to acquisition of different supernatural powers that grant all types of worldly pleasures (*bhukti*) (SātS 22. 41cd–46):[4]

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and the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, were composed between the 9th and the 10th century AD in Kashmir. See Sanderson 2001: 38.

[2] On *vaibhavīyanarasiṃhakalpa* of SātS and the possible reformulation of its function within the text as well as general characteristics of magical powers bound to it, see Dębicka-Borek 2013.

[3] The *sādhaka* is the third in the hierarchy of adepts: the first two are the *samayin* (SātS 22. 2–24) and the *putraka* (SātS 22. 32–41ab), and the last one is the *ācārya* (SātS 22. 47–61).

[4] SātS 22. 41cd–46:

sādhakākhye viśeṣo yas tam idānīṃ nibodha me //41//
pūrvavallabdhadīkṣas tu mantrārādhanatatparaḥ /
snānādinā 'khilenaiva devabhūtena karmaṇā //42//
siddhaye svātmanaś caiva na lokārādhanāya ca /
vane vāyatanoddeśe svagṛhe vā manorame //43//
mantrasevārdhyadānaṃ ca kuryān mantravrataṃ mahat /

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> "Explain to me now what is the special feature of a [person] called *sādhaka*. The one who has been initiated previously and who is engaged in worshipping the *mantra* by means of a bath etc. and the rite of becoming a god (*devabhūta*) for his own success and not for gratifying the world, should perform the great practice connected to a *mantra* which concludes with accomplishment of a *mantra*-worship, in a forest, in a sanctuary or in his own charming house. He should always give extreme caution to protecting the rules [of his practice] (*samaya*). He should not speak about the wonder experienced by him strongly in his heart in the form of the enjoyment of *śakti* before adoration without a teacher. The one whose soul is marked and who always performs his own rite with energy and faith, such a person should be known as a *sādhaka* devoted to Bhagavan".

What is interesting in the case of the teaching of the SātS is that the magical rites attainable to a *sādhaka* fall under two subsequent sets: (1) the common Tantric *siddhi*s, such as pacification (*śānti*/*śāntika*) (SātS 17. 157–181ab), prosperity (*puṣṭi*/*pauṣṭika*) (SātS 17. 181cd–198), welfare (*āpyāyana*) (SātS 17. 199–235), protection from all disadvantages (*rakṣā*) (SātS 17. 236–333ab), keeping people in a good state (*saṃdhāraṇī rakṣā*) (SātS 17. 333cd–357ab), and (2) the practices (*sādhana*) leading to the acquisition of *dharma* (SātS 17. 357cd–387ab), *artha* (SātS 17. 387cd–439ab), *kāma* (SātS 17. 439cd–447) and *mokṣa* (SātS 17. 448–456).[5]

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paramaḥ pālanīyaś ca tenaiṣa samayaḥ sadā //44//
yad atīva ca saṃlabdhaṃ yacchaktyānandam ātmani /
tad āścaryaṃ na vaktavyaṃ pūjāpūrvaṃ guror vinā //45//
ātmīyamudrāsaṃyukto nityodyuktaḥ svakarmaṇi /
śraddhayā yaḥ sa boddhavyaḥ sādhako bhagavanmayaḥ //46//

[5] The same structure of magical powers appears also in the preceding and closely related chapter, i.e. in the SātS 16. Yet, quite surprisingly, the whole procedure of Narasiṃha, including the *narasiṃhadīkṣā* and the worship of the *narasiṃhamantra* by the *sādhaka* who has been already initiated in its course, is presented there as a practice which precedes the *dīkṣā* proper and aims at purification from sins, even in regard to *nāstika*s. We can suppose that this is the reason why, according to the SātS 16, when mastering the *mantra*, the *sādhaka* is supposed to act under the supervision of a teacher: in this light this is a sort of a novitiate time for him (SātS 16. 29cd–34, 36–39ab). See Dębicka-Borek 2013: 194–196.

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The distinct character of these two sets seems to be explicitly suggested almost ten centuries later by the author of the commentary upon the SātS (*Sātvatasaṃhitābhāṣya*; SātSB), Alaśiṅgabhaṭṭa (19th century), who obviously treats the latter one as corresponding to the four[6] broadly known goals of human existence (*puruṣārtha*) acknowledged by the Brahmanical householder tradition: fulfillment of religious, social and individual duties (*dharma*), material pursuits (*artha*), sexual pleasure (*kāma*) and the last one, being complementary to the three former aims, namely liberation (*mokṣa*).

We may suspect that this is the reason why after commenting upon the section dealing with the typical Tantric powers, the author simply refrains from comments in regard to the four subsequent practices, excusing himself with the statement:

> "Thus, [he] spoke about the rule regarding the practice (*sādhana*) of the four goals of human [life] called *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* [realized] by means of the *narasiṃhamantra*, starting [with a phrase] *atha mantravarād dharma* and continuing till the end of a chapter. Their meaning is perfectly known".[7]

From his point of view, the four practices leading to the attainment of the four respective goals do not differ from their orthodox counterparts, although, as he mentions, they are realized in a specific manner, namely with the use of the *mantra*.

As Czerniak-Drożdżowicz observes, being a Tantric tradition, the Pāñcarātra had to prove that it belongs to orthodoxy. This happened especially after it flourished, at the end of the first millennium AD, in the South of India, where the more conservative traditions, mostly Smārta, were prevalent. Among the techniques used for the purpose of

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[6] Within the framework of the *śāstric* literature, the *mokṣa* is not always included into the set and, therefore, it is possible that originally there was a group of three goals (*trivarga*) comprising *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, whereas *mokṣa* might have been added under the influence of non-Vedic traditions, see Bronkhorst 2007: 162–172.

[7] SātSB on SātS 17. 357–458: *athānena nṛsiṃhamantreṇa dharmārthakāmamokṣākhyacaturvidhapuruṣārthasādhanavidhim āha – atha mantravarād dharmeti prakramya yāvat paricchedaparisamāpti / sugamas tadarthaḥ /*

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adapting the Pāñcarātra to the religious mainstream, one can enumerate the claims that it derives from a lost Vedic *śākha* (Ekāyanaśākha), religious-philosophical discourses on its authoritativeness (*prāmāṇya*) in the Pāñcarātrika scriptures themselves, such stylistic devices as introducing the story of its divine revelation with a very detailed and expanded chain of recipients (*śāstrāvataraṇa*) and, last but not least, referring to and discussing the key religious and philosophical notions recognized by the orthodoxy (Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 2007: 198–199). The term *dharma,* regarded as the first among the aims of human life (*puruṣārtha*), is one of the most important among such notions and, therefore, discussions on its meaning appear in several later texts of the Pāñcarātra, e.g. the *Paramasaṃhitā* or *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*. They present it rather conventionally and in agreement with the mainstream tradition, namely in terms of obeying the rules regulating social and religious life closely connected to one's social class and the stage of life (*varṇāśramadharma*) or one's individual duty (*svadharma*) concepts, yet particular efforts at additional explanation are given, as for example underlying the significance of a ritual routine or differentiating the *dharma* into three kinds: one of mind, speech and body. The purpose of such policy is to show that, on the one hand, the Pāñcarātra belongs to the mainstream Hindu traditions, on the other—it is to some extent special (Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 2007: 198, 210).

According to the teaching of the SātS, although the goals of respective *puruṣārthasādhana*s seem to be close to the orthodox assumptions,[8] the methods of fulfilling the human aims are quite far from them. Putting the *puruṣārtha* into the framework of magical rites suggests a deliberate conceptualization of the four goals of human life in the terms of a genuinely Tantric practice. In this context, as Oberhammer mentions while referring to the *kāma*-rite of SātS 17, "this is remarkable in so far, that these aims need not to be achieved in the course of human life, but can be reached at as disconnected from

[8] See remarks on the similar nature of *kāma* in regard to SātS 17 and the *Kāmasūtra* in Oberhammer 2010: 57.

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it by conducting a particular ritual and in this manner can be achieved by the wish of the practitioner arbitrary/without human intervention." (Oberhammer 2010: 55).

In other words, in the light of SātS, there is no need to live one's whole life devoutly if one wants to make it complete, since it is possible to accomplish all coventional purposes, including *mokṣa*, at a chosen time, through adoration of the *mantra* (provided that one has the right to do it). The aim of the present paper is, therefore, to shed some light on the strategies of such conceptualization.

As was mentioned before, in the case of SātS the respective magical rites are discussed in chapter 17. The account of consequtive magical rites begins after a general statement that the knower of the *mantra* (*mantrin*), i.e. *sādhaka*, has already overpowered the *mantra* (SātS 17. 153cd–154):

> "Listen, how a *mantrin* can use a *mantra* that has been overpowered by means of restrictions starting with abstinence from sexual activities and diet comprising milk with oats, vegetables, water, clarified butter, roots and fruits in rites such as *śāntika*".[9]

Before the *sādhaka* begins the proper rite aiming at the acquisition of *mantrasiddhi*s, he approaches a suitable, secluded place. Such a place should be free from thorns. The *sādhaka* may also stay in a house/building, provided it is covered with a net of reeds and a cloth (SātS 17. 156). Since the same initial verse reads that this happens (SātS 17. 155):

> "having learnt firstly about the condition of a person out of the common symptoms arising of his body and through a dream he dreamt",[10]

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[9] SātS 17. 153cd–154:
atha saṃsādhitaṃ mantraṃ brahmacaryādisaṃyamaiḥ //153//
payoyāvakaśākāmbughṛtamūlaphalāśanaiḥ /
mantrī yathā prayuñjīyāc chāntikādiṣu tac chṛṇu //154//

[10] SātS 17. 155:
jñātvādau svaśarīrotthair laukikair api lakṣaṇaiḥ /
prāptena svapnayogena saṃsthitiṃ jīvitasya ca //155//

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we may suppose that all the rites are conducted for the sake of someone else.

However, the concluding verse of the section on common Tantric *siddhi*s clarifies that the *mantrin* may perform them either for the sake of someone else (*parārtha*), or for himself (*svārtha*), (SātS 17. 355cd): *parārthato vā svārthena kṛtakṛtyo yadā bhavet.*

The essential component of the characteristic worship of a *sādhaka* is an intensive recitation of the *mantra*[11] and becoming equal with it. Assuming the nature of the *mantra* may happen for example through wearing a garment of the same colour as the *mantra*, and through mental practice. Then the *mantra* appears in front of the adept and grants the desired powers to him (Rastelli 2000: 321–322).

In the case of SātS 17, the general schema of consecutive magical rites constituting the first set is more or less the same, albeit differentiated by many particularities, such as for example the colour of substances the *sādhaka* uses to get what he expects or the complexity of the whole rite, with the *rakṣā* being the most time-consuming. At the beginning of each rite the *sādhaka* prepares a *maṇḍala* (or *maṇḍala*s as in the case of *rakṣā*). Then eight jars are wrapped with a thread and the appropriate substances are put in them (*śāntika*: SātS 17. 158cd–164ab; *puṣṭi*: SātS 17. 183–184; *āpyāyana*: SātS 17. 201–204ab; *rakṣā*: SātS 17. 243–249). After that the *sādhaka* engraves his name or the name of a person for whom he performs the rite (*sādhya*), along with the *mūla-mantra* of Narasiṃha, inside the lotus-petals on an amulet (*yantra*) which he had prepared before. Having wrapped the amulet with a thread, he either puts it into the jar (*śāntika*: SātS 17. 165–169; *puṣṭi*: SātS 17. 185–191ab; *āpyāyana*: SātS 17. 205cd–224), or hides it on the body (*saṃdharaṇī rakṣā* SātS 17. 337–354). Then the *sādhaka* starts the meditation upon the *narasiṃhamantra* and invites the deity to descend from his heart

[11] See the passage occuring directly after the account of *narasiṃhadīkṣā*: SātS 17. 149cd–150ab:

japel lakṣāṣṭakaṃ mantrī tataḥ siddhyati mantrarāṭ //149//
dadāti manaso 'bhīṣṭāḥ siddhīḥ sarvānurūpakāḥ /

"The *mantrin* should repeat the *mantra* eight hundred thousand times. Then, the King of the *mantra* will bring all types of desired magic powers to him".

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into the *maṇḍala* (*śānti*: SātS 17. 170; *puṣṭi*: SātS 17. 191–192; *āpyāyana*: SātS 17. 225–232ab; *rakṣā*: SātS 17. 250–256cd). He worships the deity, identifies with it and finally calls the suitable *siddhi* with the phrase "come" (*śāntika*: SātS 17. 171–172ab; *puṣṭi* SātS 17. 193–197ab; *āpyāyana* SātS 17. 232cd–234). The fire-offering (*homa*) and the *bali*-offering constitute the last elements of the rites (*śāntika*: SātS 17. 179cd–180ab; *puṣṭi*: SātS 17. 197cd; *āpyāyana*: SātS 17. 235).

The pattern of the four subsequent practices corresponding to the four goals of human life is to some extent different from the previous group of magical rites, although all of them are realized in a purely ritualistic way according to one's wish. Hikita (Hikita 1990: 174) aptly notices in the annotations to his translation of the text that in contradistinction to the 'common' *siddhi*s starting with *śāntika*, the specific *sādhana* of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* requires neither the preparation of the amulet (*yantra*) nor the *bali*-offering. In this case the *sādhaka* realizes any of the four goals, one after another, exclusively by focusing on the adoration of the *mantra*, having chosen a day suitable for a fast and having prepared a suitable *maṇḍala*.

In general, the first practice (*dharmasādhana*) is recommended for people who are devoted to one *mantra*, but due to different circumstances, for example an illness, failed to fulfil given religious duties in the course of their life. Although the poor may practice it, it is especially recommended for the rich (SātS 17. 385–387ab): [12]

> "It is meant for the poor devotees, whose mind is focused on one *mantra* (*mantraikaniyatātman*), who desire the fruit, but [their] practice lacks elements because of [the lack] of a bath, meditation (*dhyāna*), as well as *yoga*, recitation of *mantra*s (*japa*), fire-offering (*homa*), suitable vow (*sadvrata*), suitable food and drink (*sadannapāna*), donation (*dāna*), and

[12] SātS 17. 385–387ab:
bhaktānām arthahīnānāṃ mantraikaniyatātmanām /
sādhanāṅgavihīnānāṃ phalepsūnām idaṃ smṛtam //385//
snānād dhyānāt tathā yogāj japād homāc ca sadvratāt /
sadannapānād dānāc ca sarvalopāc ca sāmayāt //386//
dharmasādhanam apy uktaṃ savittānāṃ viśeṣataḥ /

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due to avoiding all of them (*sarvalopa*) because of the illness (*sāmaya*). The practice of *dharma* is taught especially to wealthy people."

The realization of *dharma* may be accomplished in several ways, depending on need or rather the lack of a particular element required to make the duties connected to *dharma* complete.

For example, with the recitation of the *mantra* accompanied by a fast and offering particular substances it is possible to realize the customary funeral rites for ancestors and ultimately ensure heaven for them (SātS 17. 358cd–362):[13]

"For the sake of offering *piṇḍa*s to the ancestors who are deprived of *piṇḍa*s, as well as for the pleasure of the Creator of the world and self-protection, the one who fasts on the night of the new moon (*amāvāsya*), having summoned the deity into the suitable *maṇḍala*, should worship it with devotion as before with *arghya* and *pādya* offerings, flowers, lamps, gifts like gold and cows, *naivedya* offerings with sesame seeds along with *kuśa* grass with sesame seeds, vessels or his own hands filled with pure water. He will immediately receive the eternal abode due to the grace of the deity of the *mantra* and lead his ancestors, who are devoid of *piṇḍa*-offerings, from hell to heaven".

In turn, someone who has not been able to devote his time to visiting any pilgrimage-site (*tīrtha*) may fulfil this duty at once in a slightly different way, including the worship of the idol of the *mantra*-deity, but still out of the *mantra*'s grace (SātS 17. 366–370):[14]

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[13] SātS 17. 358cd–362:
pitṝṇāṃ luptapiṇḍānāṃ piṇḍanirvāpaṇāya ca //358//
prītaye 'pi jagaddhātuḥ paritrāṇārtham ātmanaḥ /
kṛtopavāso 'māvāsyāṃ maṇḍalāntargataṃ vibhum //359//
āvāhya pūrvavidhinā yojayed bhaktipūrvakam /
pādyārghyapuṣpadhūpais tu dānair hemagavādikaiḥ //360//
tilayuktais tu naivedyaiḥ sakuśais tu tilānvitaiḥ /
vimalair ambupātraiś ca svayamañjalipūrakaiḥ //361//
so 'cirān mantramūrter vai prasādāc chāśvataṃ padam /
prāpnoti narakasthāṃś ca pitṝn api nayed divam //362//

[14] SātS 17. 366–370:
yo hi vāñchati saddharmatīrthābhigamanaṃ mahat /
sa yathāvat kramāt pūrvaṃ maṇḍale mantrarāṭ yajet //366//
tataḥ sambhṛtasambhāraḥ snānapūrvaṃ samarcayet /
siddhapratiṣṭhitaṃ bimbaṃ saiddhaṃ vātha svayaṃ kṛtam //367//

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> "The one who longs for a great pilgrimage to a *tīrtha* of a true *dharma* should worship the King of the *mantra* in the same order as before in the *maṇḍala*. Then, having taken a bath and collected all substances, he should propitiate the idol consecrated by *siddha*s, connected to *siddha*s or made by himself using the five cow-products, coagulated milk, milk, butter, honey, sugar-cane, water, jars full of herbs, perfumes, gems, fruit and flowers, vessels full of one hundred and eight pieces of fruit, pure water and substances for *arghya*-offering, having addressed [them] with the *aṅga-mantra*. If someone performs it with the mind purified by faith, he will obtain the aforementioned grace of the Lord of the *mantra* immediately."

Also instead of gathering the merits through keeping the religious vows (*vrata*), one may acquire them at once due to fasting and worshipping the *mantra* on a suitable day (SātS 17. 371–373a):[15]

> "The one who fasts during the passage of the Sun into another position (*saṃkrānti*), having summoned the Lord of the *mantra*, should worship him with the seasonal fruit and roots. The one who eats for seven days fruit and roots and takes a bath thrice and frequently prostrates with the eight members of his body on the ground (*aṣṭāṅgapāta*) along with circumambulation, he, indeed, achieves everything originating from religious vows".

Mantra worshipping is efficient also in the case of nonfulfilment of the duty of donation (*dāna*) (SātS 17. 373cd–377):[16]

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pañcagavyadadhikṣīraghṛtamadhvikṣuvāribhiḥ /
sarvauṣadhīgandharatnaphalapuṣpānvitair ghaṭaiḥ //368//
sāṅgenāmantrya mantreṇa śatāṣṭaphalapūritaiḥ /
antarīkṛtaśuddhāmbhaḥkumbhair arghyasamanvitaiḥ //369//
śraddhāpūtena manasā evaṃ niṣpādyate yadi /
prasādaṃ mantranāthasya prāguktam acirāl labhet //370//

[15] SātS 17. 371–373ab:
saṃkrāntyāṃ sopavāsas tu maṇḍale mantranāyakam /
samāvāhya yajed yas tu phalapuṣpair yathartujaiḥ //371//
saptāhaṃ phalamūlāśī trikālaṃ snānatatparaḥ /
bahuśo 'ṣṭāṅgapātais tu pradakṣiṇasamanvitaiḥ //372//
sa nūnaṃ samavāpnoti śaśvad yas tad vratodbhavam /

[16] SātS 17. 373cd–377:
athābhimatadānād vai yo dharmam abhivāñchati //373//
viṣuvasthaṃ dinaṃ prāpya sopavāsas tu saṃyataḥ /

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> "The one who longs for [realization of] *dharma* through a desired donation, fasting and self-controlled on the day of equinox (*viṣuvastha*), having aimed at the desired *dharma* [realized] through donation should prepare a pleasing *maṇḍala* endowed with a fire-spot and worship it accordingly with cow-products, *naivedya*, food consisting of fruit and roots, the best garlands, incenses, lights, sesamum, fire-offering, pots with water. Then, having satisfied [the god] residing in the fire with firewood, butter, sesamum with clarified butter and rice, the *dharma* [realized through] a material donation increases one hundred times."

In the light of these passages different types of religious duties associated with the fulfilment of *dharma* might be realized by a person who, on a prescibed day (*amāvāsya*, *saṃkrānti*, *viṣuva* respectively) and after undertaking a fast, conducts a particular rite connected to the *mantra* that has been summoned into the *maṇḍala*. Yet not many details are given on how the process aiming at identification with the *mantra* should proceed.

The next *sādhana* considers *artha*. The one who desires to acquire it quickly, regardless of his stage of life, may it be a disciple (*brahmacārin*), the head of the house (*grhastha)*, the one who left for the forest (*vānaparastha*) or an ascetic (*yati*), having undertaken a fast on a proper day and taken a bath thrice, should perform the offering (*yāga*) and worship the King of the *mantra* vigorously for a whole week (SātS 17.387cd–388ab).

The description of *arthasādhana* resembles that of the common *siddhi*s much more than the account of the *dharmasādhana* does, since the passage speaks explicitly about the radiant *mantra* in the form of a golden bird (*khaga*), which after thousands of recitations and medi-

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abhisandhāya manasā dharmaṃ dānād abhīpsitam //374//
nirvartya maṇḍalaṃ ramyam agnyagārasamanvitam /
gosambhavais tu naivedyair bhakṣyaiḥ saphalamūlakaiḥ //375//
sragvarair dhūpadīpais tu tilair homāmbubhājanaiḥ /
samyag iṣṭvā 'tha santarpya jvalanāntargataṃ tataḥ //376//
samidbhir ājyena tilaiḥ saghṛtais taṇḍulānvitaiḥ /
tato 'bhivardhate dharmo mūrtādānāc chatādhikam //377//

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tation, as well as different types of mortifications, appears in front of the *sādhaka* in his navel (SātS 17. 432–435ab):[17]

> "But, after seven days, having extracted the *mantra* from the *maṇḍala*, with his mind concentrated he should perform ten thousand recitations together with meditation. Keeping abstinence from sexual activity, in silence, having resigned from improper food and having abandoned molasses, gruel and sesamum oil, being free from desire, the one who rests constantly on the *kuśa* grass or antelope-skin, free from pride and jealousy, should think about the bird in front of him, whose face is completely surrounded with abundant streams of light and whose body whirls around like melted gold."

The sparkling body of the *sādhaka* suggests that due to a proper meditation along with recitation, he assumes the nature similar with the *mantra*. This process is very important as it allows the adept to achieve the superhuman powers of the *mantra*. Therefore, at the end of the worship, Vittapa/Kubera associated with treasures appears and provides him with wealth, longevity and health (SātS 17. 435cd–439ab):[18]

> "Moreover, he should meditate upon the immovable *mantra* standing in his navel and facing him, spreading from his body the beauty of radiance of various gems, multitude of gold and other minerals and genuine gems like moon-stone

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[17] SātS 17. 432–435ab:
saptāhe samatīte tu mantram utthāpya maṇḍalāt /
dhyānayuktaṃ japaṃ kuryāl lakṣasaṃkhyaṃ samāhitaḥ //432//
brahmacaryasthito maunī duṣṭāhāravivarjitaḥ /
kṣārāranālatailānāṃ parityāgī hy alolupaḥ //433//
nityaṃ kuśājineśāyī mānamātsaryavarjitaḥ /
taptahāṭakasaṃkāśaṃ paribhramaṇavigraham //434//
bhūridhārāsamākīrṇaṃ vaktram agre khagaṃ smaret /

[18] SātS 17. 435cd–439ab:
tannābhisaṃsthitaṃ mantram acalaṃ caiva sammukham //435//
nānāratnaprabhākāntim udgirantaṃ svavigrahāt /
hemādidhātunicayaṃ candrakāntādisanmaṇīn //436//
evaṃ dhyāyej japec cāpi pūjayed anantarāntarā /
niyamād ā samāpty eva japānte vittapaḥ svayam //437//
ājñāvaśyo vidheyaḥ syād ātmanā ca dhanena ca /
prayacchaty arthināṃ kāmaṃ bhuṅkte so 'viratam svayam //438//
āyurārogyasaṃyukto mantreśasya prabhāvataḥ /

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(*candrakānti*) etc., and recite it. He should worship [the *mantra*] without a break for some time, necessarily until the accomplishment. At the end of the recitation Vittapa himself with his own wealth should be controlled by a command, and submissive. Due to the power of the Lord of the *mantra*, the one who grants the wish to those who desire it, enjoys it himself being long-lived and healthy."

Quick realization of *kāma* is possible only after successful completing of the previous goal i.e. *artha*.[19] In this case, by means of recitation and visualization of the *mantra* associated with a reddish colour, as it resembles coral and resides inside Hari, who himself shines like a ruby, the *sādhaka* accomplishes his purely erotic and lustful cravings through attracting and subduing all kinds of females. Due to the recitation of the *mantra*, women themselves ask him for sexual intercourse and serve him until the end of his life (SātS 17. 440cd–447):[20]

"Having prepared the *maṇḍala*, as before, in a place which is purified, pleasing and well-protected, and having summoned the Lord of the *mantra* there, he should worship it. Then, for three or seven nights, he should offer an oblation and perform recitation (*japa*) and meditation (*dhyāna*) according to the rule mentioned before. He should visualize Hari who maintains everything and

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[19] SātS 17. 439cd–440ab:
pravartate 'rthayuktānāṃ kāma āśu ca bhoginām //439//
tatsādhanam atho vakṣye sādhakānāṃ hitāya ca /

[20] SātS 17. 440cd–447:
maṇḍalaṃ pūrvavat kṛtvā śucau deśe manorame //440//
saṅgupte tatra mantreśaṃ samāhūya ca saṃyajet /
trirātraṃ saptarātraṃ vā juhuyāt tadanantaram //441//
prāg uktena vidhānena japadhyāne samācaret /
sarvādhāraṃ hariṃ dhyāyet padmarāgaruciṃ mahat //442//
tanmadhye vidrumābhaṃ ca bandhujīvanibhojjvalam /
dhyāyen mantravaraṃ mantrī japet pūrvoktasaṃkhyayā //443//
strībhogaṃ cetasaḥ kṛtvā japānte sādhakas tataḥ /
prārthayante 'tra bhītāś ca santaptā madavihvalāḥ //444//
devakinnaranāryas tu yakṣagandharvakanyakāḥ /
siddhāḥ surāṅganāś cānyā naranāgastriyo 'khilāḥ //445//
ājīvāvadhi vai samyak karmaṇā manasā girā /
sevante sādhakendraṃ taṃ mantrasyāsya prabhāvataḥ //446//
yaṃ yaṃ samīhate kāmaṃ pātālottiṣṭhapūrvakam/
lakṣajāpāt tathā homāt taṃ taṃ yacchati mantrarāṭ //447//

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shines like a great ruby and inside it the best *mantra* shining like a coral and blazing up like a *bandhujīva* tree. The *mantrin* should visualize the best *mantra* and recite it as many times as before. Then, at the end of the recitation of the *mantra*, after the *sādhaka* directed his mind at the enjoyment of women, the terrified, inflamed and passion-driven women of the gods and Kinnaras, the girls of the Yakṣas and Gandharvas, the semi-divine and divine females and other women of human and Nāga descent ask for it. They serve the lord of *sādhakas* accordingly by deed, thought and word till the end of [his] life due to the power of this *mantra*. Whatever desire he has, the King of the *mantra* will give it to him, as a result of one hundred thousand recitations and oblations."

The realization of liberation (*mokṣa*), which is the ultimate goal of human existence, is possible when the *mantrin* abandons the *kāma* practice.[21] This particular *sādhana* speaks about the intensive recitation for the sake of removing sins. Then the adept meditates upon the *mantra* resembling the Sun and located in his heart. Having become identical with the fiery *mantra*, he burns his mundane body with its flames. After that, the *sādhaka* leaves it, looks at it from above as if he were Garuḍa/the Sun,[22] and through meditation merges with *brahman*. The passage reads (SātS 17. 449–456):[23]

[21] SātS 17. 448:
atha kāmopabhogāt tu viratasya ca mantriṇaḥ /
mokṣadaṃ sampradāyaṃ ca kathayiṣye yathārthataḥ //448//

[22] Linder Schwarz notes that this particular passage of the SātS has been reused in the later *Pādmasaṃhitā* (PādS) (the PādS, *yogapāda*, 5. 24cd–28 corresponding to SātS 17. 451cd–456), yet the simile regarding the Garuḍa is slightly different there, but meaningful: "In the PādS, the term *muktāṇḍa* (verse 26c) conveys the idea that in forsaking his mortal body, the *sādhaka* is like a bird, i.e. the bird Garuḍa, who frees himself from the shell of his egg. In the SS [= SātS], the term *mārtaṇḍa* (verse 453c)—which is related to Garuḍa insofar as the latter is associated with the Sun—rather suggests that, just as the Sun looks at the world from above in the sky, so the soul of the *sādhaka* looks from above at the body consumed by fire, once it is liberated from it. The image of the PādS, which compares the mortal body to an empty shell and the soul to a bird is more convincing and certainly makes more sense, in the present context, than that of the SS", see Linder Schwarz 2014: 288.

[23] SātS 17. 449–456:
kṛtvā yāgavaraṃ bhūyaḥ prasannenāntarātmanā /

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"Having conducted the best offering, again, with a grateful heart, he should worship the best *mantra* there for the time which was said before, in due order. After satisfying it, accordingly, in a fire pit or a jar with water, he should recite [the *mantra*] for one myriad times or as was said before, for the sake of removing all sins and for the sake of expiations, according to his strength. Being concentrated, he should think about the *mantra* in the center of the heart-lotus, spreading hundred of sun-flames through all pores of his body. Having made his consciousness identical with it (i.e. *mantra*), he should burn all his body [made of] elements with tongues of fire, and, now, being separated from it, he is like the Lord of birds (Garuḍa), the Martāṇḍa (the Sun]) in the form of a *mantra*. Then he should meditate on his own *mantra*-body transforming gradually like a ball of light, destitute of all body members [and] then a ball of light, which is huge, omnipresent, having the nature of word, real and consisting of consciousness. Having abandoned the erroneous conception called "ego" gradually, indeed he himself reaches *brahman* accordingly."

The specific character of the *mokṣasādhana* lies in the fact that being conceptualized as a magical practice and, therefore, accessible according to a wish, it actually points to a yogic suicide. As Linder Schwarz has shown, the concept of such a practice, called usually *utkrānti,* is not only supported in the Śaiva Tantra tradition,[24] but apart

pūrvoktaṃ tu yajet kālaṃ tatra mantravaraṃ kramāt //449//
tarpayitvā vidhānena kuṇḍe vā 'tha jale 'mbhasā /
sarvadoṣanivṛttyarthaṃ prāyaścittārtham eva ca //450//
japed ayutam ekaṃ tu prāg uktaṃ vā svaśaktitaḥ /
hṛtpuṇḍarīkamadhye 'tha smaren mantraṃ samāhitaḥ //451//
romakūpagaṇaiḥ sarvai ratnajvālāśatāvṛtam /
tanmayaṃ ca svacaitanyaṃ kṛtvā tad vahniraśmibhiḥ //452//
bhūtadehaṃ dahet kṛtsnaṃ tadviyuktaś ca sāmpratam /
mārtaṇḍa iva pakṣīśa āste mantrasvarūpadhṛk //453//
atha mantrākṛtiṃ svāṃ vai dhyayet pariṇatāṃ śanaiḥ /
tejogolakasaṃkāśaṃ sarvāṅgāvayavojjhitam //454//
tattejogolakaṃ paścād bṛhatparimitaṃ ca yat /
sarvagaṃ śabdarūpaṃ ca bhāvarūpaṃ tu cinmayam //455//
tasmād apy abhimānaṃ tu hy asmitākhyaṃ śanaiḥ śanaiḥ /
vinivārya yathā śaśvad brahma sampadyate svayam //456//

[24] See for example the discussion on *utkrānti* in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* in Vasudeva 2004: 437–445.

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from SātS 17 it is hinted at also in two passages of the PādS and JāyS 33, namely the PādS, *yogapāda*, 5. 24cd–28 (corresponding to SātS 17. 451cd–456) and the PādS, *caryāpāda*, 24. 96cd–105ab (corresponding to the JayS 33.37cd–43, 57–59).[25] This interpretation is convincing, taking into account that there is in fact no idea of being liberated during life (*jīvanmukti*) in the Pāñcarātra tradition,[26] hence a voluntary death may hasten the final goal. Here, the *sādhaka*, having become identical with the *mantra*, burns his mortal body and leaves it, attaining *brahman*. In this context it is additionally interesting that the *sādhaka* achieves liberation (*mokṣa*) with the help of magical powers, which are conventionally considered to be the means of realizing the opposite goal: worldly pleasures (*bhukti*). In the context of SātS 17 they are reciprocally connected.

The absence of a *yantra* in the case of *puruṣārtha* makes Hikita think about the different circumstances of the origin or different authorship of the two sets of magical rites of the SātS. In his opinion (Hikita 1990: 174), SātS 17 contained originally the account of six typical tantric acts (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*): *śānti*, *vaśīkaraṇa*, *stambhana*, *vidveṣana*, *uccāṭana* and *maraṇa*, but for the sake of removing the traces of powers usually classified as those belonging to the realm of black magic, the passage must have been reworked. The redactor, in order to modify the character of original *siddhi*s, left the description of mild rites (*śānti*, *puṣṭi*) intact, whereas the rest he concealed under the names of the four goals of human life. Thus, as Hikita suggests, the description of *kāma*-practice was modeled on *vaśīkaraṇa-siddhi* of *ākarṣaṇa* type (attraction of women). Nevertheless, as he eventually admits, the results of the alleged reworking are not satisfactory since the erotic practice of *kāma* still displays some features of black magic.

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[25] For particulars see a very interesting discussion on the concept of a yogic suicide as a way to attain liberation according to the Pāñcarātra in Linder Schwarz 2014: 284–303.

[26] It is hinted in the *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* 9. 306 and 344cd (TAK II, 2004: 277).

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There are, indeed, some traces of grammatical irregularities that may indicate textual re-working of SātS 17 (Dębicka-Borek 2013: 183–184). Additionally, the concept of the *siddhi*-related *narasiṃhadīkṣā* itself is difficult to interpret, since despite the content of SātS 17, which presents it undoubtedly in the light of an initiation giving a right to master the *mantra* of Narasiṃha and teaches about the respective magical powers acquired by its means, the preceding chapter, i.e. the SātS 16, formulates its aim as a preliminary practice aiming at the removal of sins, even in the case of *nāstika*s. Actually, the *narasiṃhadīkṣā* is not included into the general initiatory pattern of SātS referred to in other chapters that comprises the three proper *dīkṣā*s: *vibhava-*, *vyūha-* and *para-*. Nevertheless, it perfectly fits the schema introduced in the SātS 16: in order to undertake any of the three proper *dīkṣā*s, it is necessary to accomplish a purifying rite. Therefore we may presume that if any textual re-working took place, it must have happened at a very early phase of composing the *saṃhitā*. Due to a certain independency as well as because so much attention was paid to the rites conducted by the *sādhaka*, including the last magic rite aiming at *mokṣa*, one may speculate whether the whole section on the *vaibhavīyanarasiṃhakalpa* is of an older origin than the rest of the text (Dębicka-Borek 2013: 197–203).[27]

[27] In this context it is also worth noticing that despite frequent textual borrowings within the corpus of the Pāñcarātra literature, the concept of the *vaibhavīyanarasiṃhakalpa* is mentioned only once to my knowledge, namely in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* (AhS) 27. 31–32: *sāttvatādiṣu tantreṣu vihitenaiva cādhvanā / sudarśanasya mantrasya nārasiṃhasya vā mune //31// kalpaprayuktā vidhayaḥ sarve caitasya saṃnidhau / bhavanti sakalāś caitat prabhāveṇa prayojitāḥ //32//* —"O sage! In *Sāttvata* and other *tantra*s all the prescriptions applied for the sake of the worship (*kalpa*) of the *mantra* of Sudarśana or Narasiṃha together with the prescribed method are given. In its [*yantra*'s?] presence they become complete [if] performed with its power" (see Dębicka-Borek 2013: 201). The *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, the text which is believed to be traditionally connected with the SātS and to some extent follows its initiatory system, contains, in turn, many verses corresponding to the initial

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Yet brief instructions alluding most probably to the similar quick method of attaining the *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* appear also in the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, i.e. the text which is usually dated as close to the SātS and contains significant sections concerning the practice of a *sādhaka* analyzed by Rastelli (Rastelli 2000). This may suggest that such conceptualization was not the genuine idea of the redactor of the SātS at all but, quite contrary, it was known at the early phase of composing *saṃhitās*. There are two passages in the JayS that present the *puruṣārtha* as related to the ritual worship of the *mantra*. Although these passages are significantly shorter than those of the SātS, they explain some notions that are not mentioned there.

The JayS 14. 2–4[28] clarifies how the technique of the recitation of the *mantra* differs depending on the expected aim: as far as *mokṣa*, *kāma* and *artha* are concerned, the *mantra* should be recited mentally (*mānasa*), in the case of cruel (?) rites (*kṣudrakarman*) the recitation should be aloud (*vācika*), whereas in the case of magical rites (*siddhi*) it should be whispered (*upāṃśu*):

> "Thus, having satisfied the God of gods [residing] in a fire-pit, in a *maṇḍala* or in another [place], he should satisfy the god according to the rule of offering recitation. Then he grants objects of all desires that have been longed for [by him] in mind. Holding an *akṣasūtra* in his hand, he should perform a threefold recitation: a loud one for the sake of cruel rites, whispered one for the sake of magical rites, mental one for the sake of *mokṣa*, *kāma* and *artha*. But he should meditate upon the God during each of them."

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part of SātS 17, namely those which regard the *narasiṃhadīkṣā* (although they are dispersed throughout the whole body of the *saṃhitā* and therefore put in different contexts), but totally neglects the section on magical powers (see Dębicka-Borek 2014).

[28] JayS 14.2–4:

evaṃ santarpya deveśaṃ kumbhe vā maṇḍalādiṣu /
japayajñavidhānena devaṃ santarpayet tataḥ //2//
tadā sa sarvakāmārthān manaseṣṭān prayacchati /
japaṃ tu trividhaṃ kuryād akṣasūtrakarārpitaḥ //3//
vācikaṃ kṣudrakarmabhya upāṃśuṃ siddhikarmaṇi /
mānasaṃ mokṣakāmārthaṃ dhyāyed devaṃ tu sarvataḥ //4//

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The type of recitation recommended for the realization of the three goals of human life, except *dharma* that is not mentioned here, is obviously the most secret one.

The other passage of JayS underlines that in order to achieve *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, similarly as it happens when one desires to achieve victory (*jaya*) or fame (*kīrti*), it is necessery to worship the deity residing in the fire on a particular lunar day (*tithi*). The one who strives for mokṣa may worship the *mantra* at whatever time (JayS 15.216–218ab)[29]:

> "The lord who resides in the fire on the twelfth day of the half-moon bestows *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*, whereas on the thirteenth day he bestows welfare and on the eleventh day he bestows, constantly, victory. The deity bestows the acquirement of wealth on the fifth day and fame on the ninth day. Rites connected to welfare are mentioned in the context of lunar days of the light half of the Moon. For the achievement of *mokṣa*, according to the wish, both halves [of the lunar month are suitable]."

It seems that the reason of conceptualizing the four goals of human life (*puruṣārtha*) as a group of magical powers in the case of the abovementioned texts might be not, as it happens in the case of later *saṃhitās*, to refer simply to the orthodoxy for the sake of proving that the Pāñcarātra belongs to the religious mainstream, but, in a sense, to adjust them to the requirements of a particular Tantric practice. The manner of presenting them points to securing a quick and purely ritualistic method of their realization to the people who were not able to fulfill them in the traditional way, obediently passing through the successive stages of their life, and by no means neglects using genuinely Tantric methods. Despite the conventional terms referring

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[29] JayS 15. 216–218ab:
dvādaśyāṃ dharmakāmārthān agnisthaḥ kurute vibhuḥ /
saubhāgyaṃ tu trayodaśyām ekādaśyāṃ dhruvaṃ jayaḥ //216//
pañcabhyāṃ dravyasiddhiṃ ca navamyāṃ kīrtidaḥ prabhuḥ /
tithayaḥ śuklapakṣe tu proktāḥ saubhāgyakarmaṇi //217//
yathākāmaṃ tu mokṣārthaṃ pakṣayor ubhayor api /

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to subsequent goals, this is actually the old, Tantric procedure of mastering the *mantra* for the sake of realization of worldly pleasures with the help of magical powers that transpires and draws the attention, even in the case of the *mokṣasādhana,* which makes the liberation attainable according to one's wish.

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Vedic Predecessors of One Type of Tantric Ritual

SUMMARY: Verses 9–16 of the *Parātriṃśikā* prescribe a ritual application of the *hṛdayabīja* mantra '*sauḥ*'. In this case the mantra '*sauḥ*' has different effects according to durations of the mental recitation of it. This is a very simple example of one type of tantric ritual where a limited number of mantras of a certain deity are used in different ways to accomplish a variety of efficacy by changing ritual elements of them. In Hindu tantric texts we find more similar cases. In the newest layer of Vedic texts such as the *Ṛgvidhāna*, *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* and the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* there are some similar examples of this kind. The *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* describes in two succeeding chapters various applications of two mantras called *rāṣṭrabhṛt* and *devikāhavis* respectively. In this paper I examine more Vedic examples and elucidate the basic idea underlying this type of ritual.

KEYWORDS: Vedic ritual, Tantric ritual, ritual application, ritual variation

1. Introduction

1-0 Both Vedic studies and Tantric studies have their own vast fields of research, namely the corpus of Vedic and Tantric texts. Both areas have their own history of development and characteristics. It is therefore not easy to have an intimate knowledge of both the Vedic and Tantric texts at the same time for one scholar. But by choosing some specific topics it may be possible to investigate Vedic and Tantric texts in some detail. There seems to be one common feature to the two fields

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of research: each of the Vedic and Tantric textual corpuses developed a complicated ritual system, although the two groups of rituals have quite different characteristics and look different from the outside. But there are some common features, indeed. In this paper I will try to show that one of the common features may be the belief in the power that the performers themselves have with regard to the ritual elements such as mantras or some ritual acts and utensils.

1-1 Ritual applications of the *hṛdayabīja* mantra of Bhairava '*sauḥ*'

The starting point for the investigation of a common feature of the Vedic and Tantric rituals is one type of Tantric ritual that I observed in verses 9–16 of the *Parātriṃśikā* (Muller-Ortega 2002: 227). They prescribe ritual applications of the *hṛdayabīja* mantra '*sauḥ*' as follows: verse 9 defines the mantra, verse 10 determines those who are eligible to recite it, verse 11 describes the attraction of many mantras and *mudrā*s by pronouncing *sauḥ*, 12–13a says that one who mentally recites it for a *muhūrta* or forty-eight minutes can tell about past and future things, 13bd–14ab explains that one who mentally recites it for one *yāma* or three hours attains the form of the deity one wishes, 14cd adds that one who mentally recites it for two *yāma*s or six hours can walk in the air, and verses 15–16 say that one who mentally recites it for three *yāma*s or nine hours attracts all the *mātṛ*s, *yogeśvarī*s, *vīra*s, *vīreśvara*s and *ḍākinī*s. The mantra '*sauḥ*' thus achieves different effects according to the different lengths of time of the mental recitation of it. This is a simple example of one type of Tantric ritual where a limited number of mantras of a certain deity are used to accomplish a variety of effects by changing its ritual elements. Here in this case a mantra '*sauḥ*' of Bhairava is used and its use shows five kinds of effects by changing the length of time of its mental recitation. The Tantric ritual that I investigate here in this paper is thus a very simple one, namely the various uses of a limited number of mantras of a deity achieved by changing their ritual elements.

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1-2 Some examples from Hindu and Buddhist Tantric texts

The *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 151–224 is a collection of ritual applications of the mantras of the main deities of this text, Tumburu and his four sisters: Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā. According to this text (verses 58–67) the *bīja* mantras of them are as follows; Tumburu: *kṣaṃ* (or *kṣmaṃ*), Jayā: *jaṃ*, Vijayā: *bhaṃ*, Ajitā: *saṃ*(?), and Aparājitā: *haṃ* (Goudriaan 1985: 33–34).[1] According to the analysis of T. Goudriaan there are twenty-one variations of the ritual applications of these mantras.[2] See also *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 264–300 (Goudriaan 1985: 42–43). The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, chapters 11–15, 18 and 19, and the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* 4.17–71 can be regarded as similar collections of the ritual applications of the mantras of deities central to these texts.

The *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, a voluminous Buddhist Tantric text, is a collection of many rites which are performed presumably by using a mantra called *amoghapāśahṛdaya*. According to the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, folio 4b,5, the *amoghapāśahṛdaya* reads: *oṃ padmahasta mahāmoghapāśa sādhaya samayahṛdayaṃ cara cara hūṃ*. A good example of the ritual applications of this *amoghapāśahṛdaya* is a short *āhutividhi* in the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, folio 43b,6–44a,7. As the contents of this *āhutividhi*[3] shows, this section contains 32 kinds of ritual applications of this mantra with different effects.

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[1] The different *bīja* mantras of Tumburu and his four goddesses coming from various sources are given in Goudriaan 1985: 50.

[2] For the synopsis of verses 151–224, see Goudriaan 1985: 38–40.

[3] Contents of the *āhutividhi* of the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* 43b,6–44b,7: 43b,6–7 [57,12–15] general remarks: an enumeration of different effects; 43b,7–44a,1 [57,15–26] protection of the house; 44a,1–2 [57,26–58,1] *mahāśānti*; 44a,2 [58,1–4] subjugation of a king, a minister, a village, a town, etc.; 44a,2 [58,5–6] to obtain a thousand villages; 44a,2–3 [58,6–10] to obtain a hundred dinars; 44a,3 [58,10–12] to be released from all Vināyakas; 44a,3–4 [58,12–16] attracting of a Yakṣiṇī who gives five thousand *rūpakas*; 44a,4–6 [58,16–26] attracting of a *yakṣakanyā* who becomes a servant of the practitioner; 44a,6–7 {58,26–59,4] to find buried treasure; 44a,7 [59,4–7] subjugation of a king together with all what belongs to him; 44a,7

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1-3 Some examples from post-Vedic ritual texts

In the earliest layer of post-Vedic texts there are some similar examples of this kind of ritual. According to *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* 2.5.6–7, when one sings the *sāman* of *Grāmageyagāna* 16.8.547.1–8 with a knife in one's hand, one can subdue various beings according to the different duration of its singing (Konow 1983: 58–59). *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* 3.2.7–10 prescribes another use of the melody called *vairūpa*: one can achieve various effects according to the depths into which one enters the river to sing this melody (Konow 1983: 68).

Ṛgvidhāna 2.25–62 collects a series of rites by using the *gāyatrī* verse, namely ṚV 3.62.10 (Gonda 1951:40–45, Bhat 1987: 319–324). *Ṛgvidhāna* 2.92cd–109 prescribes a number of ritual applications of the hymn of the *śrīsūkta*, namely *Ṛgvedakhila* 2.6[4] (Gonda 951: 50–52, Bhat 1987: 329–332), *Ṛgvidhāna* 3.134–230,—those of the hymn of the *puruṣasūkta* (RV 10.90) (Gonda 1951: 87–100, Bhat 1987: 373–388) and finally *Ṛgvidhāna* 4.30–42 teaches the different uses of the *Ṛgvedakhila* 4.5[5] (Gonda 1951: 104–106, Bhat 1987: 393–395).

[59,7–9] subjugation of a woman, a man, a boy, and a girl; 44a,7–44b,1 [59,10–13] subjugation of the people of the four *varṇas*; 44b,1 [59,13–15] to obtain one hundred dinars daily; 44b,1 [59,15–17] to obtain a thousand pieces of gold; 44b,1–2 [59,17–23] to obtain a great amount of *ratna* from a miraculous *kanyā* who appears from a river; 44b,2–3 [59,23–28] to be released from all *pāpāvaraṇas*, from all diseases and to destroy all enemies; 44b,3 [60,1–2] *mahāśānti*; 44b,3–4 [60,2–4] for the prosperity; 44b,4 [60,4–5] malevolent rites; 44b,4 [60,6–8] to cause it to rain; 44b,4–5 [60,8–10] to stop too much raining; 44b,5 [60,10] protection of the territory; 44b,5 [60,11–12] to stop wind, cloud and lightning; 44b,5 [60,12] to paralyze the enemy's army; 44b,5 [60,12–13] to destroy the enemy's army; 44b,5 [60,13] magical rite with the cave; 44b,5 [60,14] to open all the doors of the cave; 44b,5–6 [60,15–16] attracting of all materials and plants; 44b,6 [60,17–19] attracting of Śakra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, etc.; 44b,6 [60,19–21] attracting of the moon and the sun; 44b,6–7 [60,21–25] subjugation of a king together with his queen and his family; 44b,6 [60,25–28] suppression of all kinds of demons.

[4] For *Ṛgvedakhila* 2.6, see Scheftelowitz 1906: 72–75.

[5] For *Ṛgvedakhila* 4.5, see Scheftelowitz 1906: 113–115.

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The *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*, chapter 35, entitled *Āsurīkalpa* and chapter 36, entitled *Ucchuṣmakalpa*, are collections of ritual acts performed by using a limited number of mantras of a deity for various purposes. The *Āsurīkalpa* is a collection of ritual acts performed by using the mantra of Āsurī; *āsurī* is the black mustard and is treated as a female deity. At the beginning of the *Āsurīkalpa*, namely *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 35.1.1–2, the mantra of Āsurī is mentioned.[6] According to the contents made by the editors (Bolling and Negelein 1909: 215), the *Āsurīkalpa* contains 15 variations of magical practices by using the mantra of Āsurī. In the *Ucchuṣmakalpa* the mantra called *ucchuṣmahṛdaya* or the heart of Ucchuṣma recorded in *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 36.1.12 plays the main part. It reads as follows: *dyuru dyuru dara dara vidāraya vidāraya mili mili namaḥ svāhā* //. As regards the detail of this rite one may see the excellent analysis by Peter Bisschop and Arlo Griffiths (Bisschop and Griffiths 2007).

These are the examples of the Tantric ritual in which a mantra, the length of which varies considerably, the shortest one being the *bījamantra* of Bhairava of one syllable *sauḥ*, the longest one the *sūkta* in *Ṛgvedakhila* 4.5 having 40 verses, is used for achieving various effects by changing its ritual elements. Next I examine examples of this type of ritual practices in the Vedic texts.

2. The first example from Vedic rituals: the *rāṣṭrabhṛt*

2-1 The structure of the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras

The first example from the Vedic texts is the *rāṣṭrabhṛt*. The *rāṣṭrabhṛt* is a group of mantras. It is found in *Kāṭhaka* (KS) 18.14 [275,1–13], *Kapiṣṭhalakaṭhasaṃhitā* (KapS) 29.3 [150,20–151,10], *Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā* (MS)

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[6] AVPŚ 35.1.1–2 *oṃ kaṭuke kaṭukapattre subhage āsuri rakte raktavāsase atharvaṇasya duhite aghore aghorakarmakārike* /1/ *amukaṃ hana hana daha daha paca paca matha matha / tāvad daha tāvat paca yāvan me vaśam ānayasi svāhā* /2/) – "*oṃ*, a pungent woman, a woman of a pungent leaf, a happy woman, o Āsurī, a red woman, a woman dressed in red, a daughter of Atharvaṇa, a not terrible woman, a woman who performs not terrible deeds. Kill, kill that one, burn, burn, cook, cook, rob, rob. As long as you lead one to my control, so long burn, so long cook, *svāhā*."

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2.12.2 [145,1–13], *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (TS) 3.4.7 and *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* (VS) 18.38–44. The number of mantras varies according to the texts. The KS, KapS and VS have seven mantras, the MS has eight and the TS has twelve. The *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras are divided into two parts, namely the first six mantras and the others. The first six mantras follow a similar pattern. It is shown by the first mantra, e.g. KS 18.14 [275,1–2] *ṛtāṣāḍ ṛtadhāmāgnir gandharvas tasyauṣadhayo 'psaraso mudā nāma sa na idaṃ brahma kṣatraṃ pātu tasmai svāhā vaṭ tābhyas svāhā vaṭ* —"Maintaining the sacred law, abiding in the sacred law, Agni is the Gandharva, his plants are the Apsarases, named pleasures; may he protect this priesthood and ruling power. To him *svāhā vaṭ*. To them *svāhā vaṭ*." The pattern is as follows: a certain deity, here Agni, characterized by adjectives, is identified with the Gandharva, an item closely related to the deity, here the plants, is identified with the Apsarases and their name is mentioned. The remaining part is a refrain, slightly different in each Saṃhitā. From this we can assume that the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* is a collection of identifications of certain deities and their intimate items with the Gandharva and the Apsarases respectively. In the following synopsis the deity who is identified with the Gandharva is given first, then the intimate item of the deity which is identified with the Apsarases is indicated, and lastly the name of the Apsarases is mentioned. When different names of the Apsarases are mentioned in other versions of the mantras, they are referred to separately:[7]

The fire (*agni*): *gandharva*, the plants (*oṣadhayaḥ*): *apsarasaḥ*, their name: pleasures (*mudāḥ*) [(1) KS 18.14 [275,1–2]; (1) KapS 29.3 [150,20–22], (1) MS 2.12.2 [145,1–3]; (1) VS 18.38]

<*agni*: *gandharva*, *oṣadhayaḥ*: *apsarasaḥ*,> their name: nourishments (*ūrjaḥ*) [(1) TS 3.4.7.a]

The sun (*sūrya*): *gandharva*, the sun's rays (*marīcayaḥ*): *apsarasaḥ*, their name: lively (*āyuvaḥ*) [(3) KS 18.14 [275,4–6]; (3) KapS 29.3 [151,1–3], (2) MS 2.12.2 [145,3–4]; (2) TS 3.4.7.b; (2) VS 18.39]

[7] The number given in parentheses suggest the verse order in the mantra collection in each Saṃhitā.

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The moon (*candramas*): *gandharva*, the stars (*nakṣatrāṇi*): *apsarasaḥ*, their name: singing (*bekurayaḥ*) [(2) KS 18.14 [275,2–4]; (2) KapS 29.3 [150,22–151,1], (3) MS 2.12.2 [145,4–5]; (3) TS 3.4.7.c]

<*candramas*: *gandharva*, *nakṣatrāṇi*: *apsarasaḥ*,> their name: singing (*bhekurayaḥ*) [(3) VS 18.40]

The wind (*vāta*): *gandharva*, the waters (*āpaḥ*): *apsarasaḥ*, their name: nourishments (*ūrjaḥ*) [(6) KS 18.14 [275,10–12]; (5) KapS 29.3 [151,4–5], (4) MS 2.12.2 [145,5–6]; (4) VS 18.4]

<*vāta*: *gandharva*, *āpaḥ*: *apsarasaḥ*,> their name: pleasures (*mudāḥ*) [(6) TS 3.4.7.f]

The sacrifice (*yajña*): *gandharva*, the sacrificial fees (*dakṣiṇāḥ*): *apsarasaḥ*, their name: praises (*stavāḥ*) [(4) KS 18.14 [275,6–8]; (4) KapS 29.3 [151,3–4], (4) TS 3.4.7.d; (5) VS 18.42]

<*yajña*: *gandharva*, *dakṣiṇāḥ*: *apsarasaḥ*,> their name: wishes (*eṣṭayaḥ*) [(5) MS 2.12.2 [145,6–8]]

The mind (*manas*): *gandharva*, verses and melodies (*ṛksāmāni*): *apsarasaḥ*, their name: wishes (*eṣṭayaḥ*) [(5) KS 18.14 [275,8–10]; (6) KapS 29.3 [151,5–8], (6) VS 18.43]

<*manas*: *gandharva*, *ṛksāmāni*: *apsarasaḥ*,> their name: praises (*stavāḥ*) [(6) MS 2.12.2 [145,8–9]]

<*manas*: *gandharva*, *ṛksāmāni*: *apsarasaḥ*,> their name: fires as conveyer of oblations (*vahnayaḥ*) [(5) TS 3.4.7.e]

The pairs of deities identified with the Gandharva and their respective intimate items identified with the Apsarases are the same in the corresponding verses in the five Saṃhitās. What differs is the verse order and the names of the Apsarases. The fire with the plants, the sun with its rays of light, the moon with the stars, the wind with the waters, the sacrifice with the sacrificial fees and the mind with the verses and melodies are deities with their intimate items and are regarded as *rāṣṭrabhṛt*, i.e. those who support the kingdom.

In the second part of the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras, namely in the seventh mantra[8] in the version of the KS, for example, it is requested

[8] In the MS it is the eighth verse and in the TS it is the twelfth verse.

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as follows: KS 18.14 [275,12–13] *sa no bhuvanasya pate yasya ta upari gṛhā virāṭpate / asmai brahmaṇe 'smai kṣatrāya mahi śarma yaccha svāhā //* —"O lord of the world of ours, you have houses above, o sovereign lord, may you give great shelter to this priesthood, to this ruling power, *svāhā*." So in the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras the Gandharva and the Apsarases who represent both the physical worlds and the sacrificial spheres are requested to protect the priesthood and ruling power and to give great shelter to both of them.

2-2 The original use of the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras in the Agnicayana

From the position of the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras in the mantra collections of the *Yajurvedasaṃhitās*[9] we can rightly suppose that the offerings by using the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras are originally performed within the Agnicayana. When the construction of the five layered fire altar is completed, it is made ritually suitable for further acts, the fire is brought upon it and a series of offerings are performed to celebrate its completion. The rite with the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras is performed towards the end of these ritual acts.[10] And this rite is described in many texts belonging to the *Yajurveda*.[11]

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[9] KS 15.11–18.14, KapS 25.1–29.6, MS 2.7.1–2.13.23, TS 4, VS 11–18.

[10] See a series of ritual acts after the construction of the five layered fire altar in the Agnicayana, for example in the case of the MS (based on Table of Correspondence: Saṃhitās of *Yajurveda* made by Michael Witzel): MS 3.3.4 [35,21–36,10] sprinkling the *citi* with 1000 gold flakes, 3.3.4 [36,11–37,10] *śatarudriyahoma*, 3.3.5 [37,11–38,12] sprinkling water round the *citi*, 3.3.6 [38,13–20] dragging round the *citi* with a frog and some plants, 3.3.6 [38,20–39,15] sprinkling the *citi* with gold flakes, ghee and curds mixed with honey, 3.3.7 [39,16–40,2] offering to Agni Anīkavat and Viśvakarman, 3.3.7 [40,2–11] *apratiratha*, 3.3.8 [40,12–41,17] *agnipraṇayana*, 3.3.9 [41,18–43,8] placing the fire on the *citi*, 3.3.10 [43,9–44,16] offerings to Agni Vaiśvānara and Maruts, 3.4.1–2 [45,1–47,3] *vasor dhārā*, 3.4.3 [47,4–7] *vājaprasavīya*, 3.4.3 [47,8–18] *abhiṣeka*, 3.4.3 [47,18–48,6] *rāṣṭrabhṛt*, 3.4.3 [48,6–14] *vātahoma*.

[11] The *rāṣṭrabhṛt* offerings are discussed in the following Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajurveda* such as KS 21.12 [52,16–53,3], MS 3.4.3 [47,18–48,6],

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2-3 Ritual applications of the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras

On the other hand, the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras are used independently in a series of rites which are performed for the sake of different desires. They are prescribed in KS 37.11–12 [91,16–93,16], TS 3.4.8.1–7 and BaudhŚS 14.17–18 [182,1–184,20]. In the following synopsis ritual applications of the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras are given in such a way that different cases are arranged according to different desires and the ritual act specific to each desire, if there is any, is mentioned as "Variation".[12]

1. For one who desires a kingdom (*rāṣṭrakāma*). TS 3.4.8.1; BaudhŚS 14.17 [182,1–10].
   Variation: the sacrificer himself performs it.[13]
2. For one who desires a village (*grāmakāma*). TS 3.4.8.1–2; BaudhŚS 14.17 [182,10–15].
   Variation: one makes offerings on the dicing-place (*adhidevana*).
3. For one who desires force (*ojaskāma*). TS 3.4.8.2; BaudhŚS 14.17 [182,15–19].
   Variation: one makes offerings on the forepart of the chariot (*rathamukha*).[14]

TS 5.4.9.3–4, ŚB 9.4.1.1–16, and they are prescribed in the following Śrautasūtras, namely, MānŚS 6.2.5.32–33, VārŚS 2.2.4.13–19, BaudhŚS 10.54 [56,19–57,4], ĀpŚS 17.19.12–20.10, HirŚS 12.6.14–19, VaikhŚS 19.6 [296,5–7], KātyŚS 18.5.16–20.

[12] As the number of the ritual applications in the TS is larger than that in the KS and the descriptions of the BaudhŚS are mostly the quotations of the TS, the synopsis here follows the descriptions of the TS 3.4.8.1–7.

[13] TS 3.4.8.1 *ātmane hotavyāḥ*. See BaudhŚS 14.17 [182,5–7].

[14] At the *rāṣṭrabhṛt homa* in the Agnicayana the last offerings are also performed on the forepart of the chariot. See *rathamukha*: KS 21.12 [53,1–2], TS 5.4.9.3–4, VārŚS 2.2.4.15–16, BaudhŚS 10.54 [57,2], ĀpŚS 17.20.5–6, HirŚS 12.6.17, VaikhŚS 19.6 [296,6–7], *rathaśīrṣa*: MS 3.4.3 [48,6–7], ZB 9.4.1.13, 15, *rathaśiras*: MānŚS 6.2.5.33, KātyŚS 18.5.17.

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4. For one who is expelled from one's kingdom (*yo rāṣṭrād apabhūtaḥ syāt*) (Rau 1957: 129). TS 3.4.8.2, BaudhŚS 14.17 [182,19–183,3], cf. KS 37.11 [91,21–92,2].

Variation: One should say to one's all chariots: 'Be yoked'.

5. For one whose realm is not in order (*yasya rāṣṭraṃ na kalpate*). TS 3.4.8.3, BaudhŚS 14.17 [183,3–8], cf. KS 37.12 [93,11–16].

Variation: One should take off the right wheel of one's chariot and make offerings in the hub.

6. When a battle begins (*saṃgrāme saṃyatte*).[15] TS 3.4.8.3–4, BaudhŚS 14.18 [183,9–14], cf. KS 37.12 [93,9–11].

Variation: The kindling-wood is made of *mandhuka* wood.[16]

7. For one who is mad (*unmatta*). TS 3.4.8.4–5, BaudhŚS 14.18 [183,14–18].

Variation: The kindling-wood is made of *nyagrodha*, *udumbara*, *aśvattha* and *plakṣa* wood.[17]

8. When one practices witchcraft. TS 3.4.8.5; BaudhŚS 14.18 [183,18–184,4].

Variation: The *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras are recited in reverse order;[18] one makes offerings in a natural depression which contains

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[15] For the rituals to win the battle, see Rau 1957: 102 with note 9 where he collects 41 examples from the Brāhmaṇa texts.

[16] The word *māndhuka* appears in TS 3.4.8.3 and BaudhŚS 14.18 [183,11]. Apart from this context it appears in ĀpŚS 17.14.8. According to Caland 1928: 88, n. 1 on ĀpŚS 17.14.8 in KS 21.10 [50,4] the word *bāndhuka* is used.

[17] These trees are regarded as houses of the Gandharvas and the Apsarases. TS 3.4.8.4–5: *naiyagrodha audumbara āśvatthaḥ plākṣa itīdhmo bhavaty ete vai gandharvāpsarasāṃ gṛhāḥ sva evainān /4/ āyatane śamayati*.

[18] The number of the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras in TS 3.4.7 is twelve. In the original version in the Agnicayana six offerings on the *āhavanīya* are performed with TS 3.4.7.a–f and five offerings on the forepart of a chariot are made with TS 3.4.7.g–k (TS 5.4.9.3–4). Here in this case the mantras are probably used in order of k to a. See Caland 1900: 88, note 1. For the later examples of the use of a mantra in reverse order, see e.g. VaikhGS 4.11 [64,9–10],

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salt (*svakṛta iriṇa*)[19] or cleft (*pradara*); the *vaṣaṭ* call is uttered at the time of offerings.[20]

AVPŚ 1.32.10, 31.8.4cd–9.5, 34.1.8, *Ṛgvidhāna* 1.75–78, *Kubjikāmata Tantra* 23.151A, *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 171–173, 228–229ab, *Tantrarāja Tantra* 8.72–90 (J.A. Schoterman, 1982, The *Ṣaṭsāhasra Saṃhitā*, chapter 1–5, p. 181.).

[19] See Falk 1986: 79. Mythical explanation of its origin is found in TS 2.5.1.3, and JB 1.134 [57,8–12]. It is characterized as part of the earth which is possessed by Nirṛti: KS 20.2 [20,8], MS 3.2.4 [19,21], TS 3.4.8.5, TB 2.2.1.7; as the resting–place (*āyatana*) of Nirṛti: TS 5.2.4.3, TB 1.6.1.3; as the resting-place of the Rakṣases: TB 1.7.1.9. It is used as a place of the performance of various rites, such as witchcraft by using the *daśahotṛ* mantra: KS 9.16 [119,7–10] and TB 2.2.1.7; the *apāmārgahoma*, a rite to expel *rakṣas* in the Rājasūya: KS 15.2 [210,15–18], MS 2.6.3 [64.18–65.4], and TB 1.7.1.8–9; many rites are connected with Nirṛti, a special animal sacrifice for him who thinks himself possessed by Nirṛti: KS 13.5 [186,12–15]; the offering of a sacrificial cake cooked on one potsherds to Nirṛti at the beginning of the Rājasūya (Heesterman 1957: 15–16): KS 15.1 [209,14–210,2], MS 2.6.1 [64,1–5], TB 1.6.1.3, cf. MS 4.3.1 [39.1–8] and ŚB 5.2.3.2–3; the placing of the three bricks dedicated to Nirṛti in the Agnicayana: KS 20.2 [20,8–9], MS 3.2.4 [19,19–20,1], TS 5.2.4.3, and ŚB 7.2.1.8. Thus the *svakṛta iriṇa* is regarded as an ominous place.

[20] TS 3.4.8.5 *yad vācaḥ krūraṃ tena vaṣaṭ karoti* –"He makes *vaṣaṭ* call with what is harsh in speech." As mentioned above, the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantra follows a pattern: a certain deity, characterized by adjectives, is identified with the Gandharva, an item closely related to the deity is identified with the Apsarases and their name is mentioned and the remaining part is a refrain, slightly different in each Saṃhitā. The refrain in the KS is as follows: *sa na idaṃ brahma kṣatraṃ pātu tasmai svāhā vaṭ tābhyas svāhā vaṭ* – "May he protect this priesthood and ruling power. To him *svāhā vaṭ*. To them *svāhā vaṭ*." In the case of the KS the exclamation at the offering is *svāhā vaṭ*. The part '*tasmai svāhā vaṭ tābhyas svāhā vaṭ*' is found also in the mantras of the KapS and MS. The VS has a slightly different form: e.g. VS 18.38d *tasmai svāhā vāṭ tābhyaḥ svāhā*. The part '*svāhā vaṭ*' is changed to '*svāhā vāṭ*' and it is used only after '*tasmai*'. According to ŚB 9.4.1.4 ... *ubhābhyāṃ vaṣaṭkāreṇa ca svāhākāreṇa ca puṃse juhoti svāhākāreṇaiva strībhyaḥ* – "He offers to the male with both the *vaṣaṭ* call and *svāhā* call, to the females

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9. When one desires of a man that one takes food of him. TS 3.4.8.5–6; BaudhŚS 14.18 [184,4–11].

Variation: One lies on the back in his hall, gathers blades of grass with the words: 'O lord of the world', and says: 'here do I take food of N.N. the son of N.N.'[21]

10. For a ruling person (*jyeṣṭhabandhu*)[22] who was expelled from his position. TS 3.4.8.7; BaudhŚS 14.18 [184,11–20].

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only with the *svāhā* call", it is supposed that the *vāṭ* is a form of the *vaṣaṭ* call. According to TS 5.1.5.2 *yad vaṣaṭ kuryād yātayāmāsya vaṣaṭkāraḥ syād yan na vaṣaṭkuryād rakṣāṃsi yajñaṃ hanyur vaḍ ity āha parokṣam eva vaṣaṭ karoti* – "If he makes the *vaṣaṭ* call, his *vaṣaṭ* call might be wasted by use. If he does not make the *vaṣaṭ* call, the Rakṣases might injure the sacrifice. He says '*vaṭ*'. He makes the *vaṣaṭ* call unknowingly," the *vaṭ* used in KS, KapS and MS is a form of the *vaṣaṭ* call. Thus in the *rāṣṭrabhṛt homa* in the Agnicayana the KS, KapS, MS and VS uses the *vaṣaṭ* call. But the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras in the TS end with *tasmai svāhā tābhyaḥ svāhā*, without using the *vaṭ* or *vāṭ*. As mentioned in the text of this note, the *vaṣaṭ* call is regarded as what is harsh in speech. See also KS 9.16 [119,9–10] and TB 2.2.1.7. The *vaṣaṭ* call is identified with *vajra* (Bodewitz 1990: 239, n. 23). Thus the *vaṣaṭ* call is regarded as dangerous (Goudriaan 1978: 73). Therefore here in the ritual application as a witchcraft the TS enjoins the use of the *vaṣaṭ* call, even if the TS does not use it in the original *rāṣṭrabhṛt homa* in the Agnicayana.

[21] TS 3.4.8.7 *tasya sabhāyām uttāno nipadya bhuvanasya pata iti* (TS 3.4.7.g) *tṛṇāni saṃgṛhṇīyāt ... idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyānnādyaṃ harāmīty āha.*

[22] A.B. Keith translates this word in his translation of this passage with "the head of a family" (Keith 1914: 273) as W. Caland with "Familenhaupt" (Caland 1908: 92). M. Monier–Williams in his *Sanskrit–English Dictionary* gives the same meaning of "the chief of a family". According to K. Amano this word is a *bahuvrīhi* compound and has the meaning of "einer, der überlegene Verwandtschaft hat". W. Rau registers it among the words denoting the ruler of a country such as *adhipati*, *adhirāja*, *uttama*, *ekarāj*, *kṣatrapati*, *jyeṣṭha*[*bandhu*], *parameṣṭhin*, *puraetṛ*, *puraḥsthātṛ*, *bhagin*, *bhoja*, *mahārāja*, (*rājan*, *rāṣṭrin*), *vasiṣṭha*, *śreṣṭha*, *śreṣṭhin*, *samrāj*, *sarvarāj*, *svarāj* (Rau 1957: 72). So I translate it as a ruling person.

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Variation: He is placed on an elevated place (*sthala*); four *śarāvas* of *brahmaudana* cooked in milk and provided with butter are offered; four Brahmins who are descendants of the *ṛṣis* (*ārṣeya*) eat it.[23]

In my opinion this is a case which can be regarded as similar to the examples of one pattern of the Tantric rituals that I introduced briefly at the beginning of the article. The *rāṣṭrabhṛt* is a collection

[23] The *brahmaudana* is cooked rice (*odana*) to be given to the Brahmins (*brahman*). The second half of the description reads as follows: TS 3.4.8.7 *catuḥśarāvo bhavati dikṣv eva pratitiṣṭhati kṣīre bhavati rucam evāsmin dadhāty uddharati śṛtatvāya sarpiṣvān bhavati medhyatvāya catvāra ārṣeyāḥ prāśnanti diśām eva jyotiṣi juhoti* /7/ – "It, i.e. the *brahmaudana*, is of four *śarāva* vessels in quantity. He, i.e. the sacrificer, namely stands fest in the directions. It is cooked in milk. One namely places splendour on him. One takes it out, so that it becomes well cooked. It is provided with butter, so that it becomes suitable for the sacrifice. Four *ṛṣi* descendants eat it. One namely offers it in the light of the directions." This description is very similar to TB 3.8.2.2 *catuḥśarāvo bhavati / dikṣv eva pratitiṣṭhati / ubhayato rukmau bhavataḥ / ubhayata evāsmin rucaṃ dadhāti / uddharati śṛtatvāya / sarpiṣvān bhavati medhyatvāya / catvāra ārṣeyāḥ prāśnanti / diśām eva jyotiṣi juhoti /* This comes from the beginning of the Aśvamedha, when the *adhvaryu* priest binds the main horse of this sacrifice with a rope which has just been dipped in the rest of the *brahmaudana*. Thus at the beginning of the Aśvamedha (see also ŚB 13.1.1.1–4), towards the end of it (TB 3.9.18.1–2, ŚB 13.3.6.6–7 and ŚB 13.4.1.5–6), and at the *vasor dhārā* offerings in the Agnicayana (TS 5.7.3.4) the *brahmaudana* is used. But its main use is at the beginning of the Agnyādheya. Before the main ritual acts of the setting up of the *śrauta* fires begin, the *brahmaudana* is cooked and given to the four *ārṣeya brāhmaṇas* to be eaten and the tools to churn out the new fire (*araṇī*) is heated at the fire which has cooked the *brahmaudana*. For the detailed description and discussion of the *brahmaudana* rite, see Krick 1982: 232–318. According to *A Vedic Word Concordance* (Vishva Bandhu 1959: 2304 and Vishva Bandhu 1973: 1078) the word *brahmaudana* does not appear in KS, KapS, MS, AB, PB and KB. At the places where the word *brahmaudana* appears in other texts, as in TS, TB and ŚB, the simple word

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of mantras which are supposed to have a power to support the kingdom.[24] This collection of powerful mantras is used originally at a certain moment of the Agnicayana. But due to its power the mantras are taken out of their original context and are used also independently for the purpose of various desires, while certain ritual elements are changed according to the desires one wants to satisfy.

3. The second example from the Vedic rituals: the *devikāhavis*

3-1 The original use of the *devikāhavis* in the Rājasūya

The next chapter of TS 3.4.9 offers another interesting example of this kind. This is a case of ritual applications of a set of *iṣṭi*s, called *devikāhavis*, performed by offering a *dvādaśakapāla puroḍāśa* or a sacrificial cake cooked on twelve potsherds to one god Dhātṛ and a *caru* or cooked rice to each of four goddesses Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū. The *devikāhavis* offerings are originally included in the Rājasūya.[25] They are also prescribed towards the end of

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odana is used, e.g. KS 7.15 [78,16] and MS 1.6.12 [104,10] in the context of the *brahmaudana* in the Agnyādheya.

[24] KS 21.12 [52,16–17] *kṣatraṃ vā eṣo 'gnīnāṃ yac cīyata ete vā etasya rāṣṭraṃ bibhrati tad rāṣṭrabhṛtāṃ rāṣṭrabhṛtvaṃ* – "The fire here among the fires which has just been piled up is the ruling power. These (gods) support the kingdom of this (ruling power). That is the reason why the *rāṣṭrabhṛt*s are called so". TS 3.4.6.2 *yad rāṣṭrabhṛdbhī rāṣṭram ādadata tad rāṣṭrabhṛtāṃ rāṣṭrabhṛttvam* – "That he took hold of the kingdom with the *rāṣṭrabhṛt*s is the reason why the *rāṣṭrabhṛt*s are called so". ŚB 9.4.1.1 *athāto rāṣṭrabhṛto juhoti / rājāno vai rāṣṭrabhṛtas te hi rāṣṭrāṇi bibhraty ... /1/* – "And from now he performs the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* offerings. Those who support the kingdom (*rāṣṭrabhṛt*s) are the rulers, because they support the kingdoms."

[25] KS 15.3 [211,7–8], MS 2.6.4 [65,15–16], TS 1.8.8.1, TB 1.7.2.1, MānŚS 9.1.1.30, VārŚS 3.3.1.25–27, BaudhŚS 12.4 [89,14–90,4], ĀpŚS 18.10.1–4, HirŚS 13.3.38–42. As pointed out by J.C. Heesterman, "This *iṣṭi* is prescribed in the *Black Yajurveda* only." (Heesterman 1957: 41). On the other hand, the white *Yajurveda*, namely ŚB 9.5.1.34–40 and KātyŚS 18.6.20–21, places it just towards the end of the Agnicayana.

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the Agniṣṭoma (Caland and Henry 1907: 408–409).[26]

3-2 The ritual applications of the *devikāhavis*

The basic ideas of the ritual applications of the *devikāhavis* are expressed succinctly by J.C. Heesterman:

> Through the devikā-havīṃṣi the fulfilment of various wishes can be obtained: offspring, cattle, a village (*grāma-*), continuity of sacrificial activity, recovery from a long-lasting illness (*yo jyog āmayati*), (mental) vigour (*medhā-*), splendour (*ruc-*). The nature of the wish seems to determine the time of the Dhātṛ offering before, in the middle, or at the end of the offerings for the female devikās (Heesterman 1957: 42).

They are described in the following texts: KS 12.8 [170,3–171,7] (in the context of the *kāmyeṣṭis*), MS 4.3.5–6 [44,4–45,16] (in the context of the Rājasūya), TS 3.4.9.1–7 (in the context of miscellaneous rites called *aupānuvākya*) and BaudhŚS 14.19 [185,1–8] (*aupānuvākya*).[27] The TS offers nine cases and the KS and MS give seven and eight cases respectively.[28] In the following synopsis I mainly follow the description

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[26] AB 3.47.1–13 and 3.48.6–9, KB 19.7 [86,14–21], ĀśvŚS 6.14.15–16, ŚāṅkhŚS 9.28.1–3, MānŚS 2.5.5.11–15, BaudhŚS 8.22 [263,13–164,5], BhārŚS 14.24.15–17, 14.25.4–6, ĀpŚS 13.24.1–5, HirŚS 9.6 [952–953], VaikhŚS 16.27–28 [236,20–237,3], VaitS 24.13. Among the Brāhmaṇa texts it is only AB and KB, namely the two Brāhmaṇas of the *Ṛgveda*. Certainly the *devikāhavis* offerings at the end of the Agniṣṭoma were introduced by the Ṛgvedins and the Śrautasūtras of the other Vedic schools adopted them following the AB. See also GB 1.4.7 [96,9] and 1.4.8 [99,7–10]. The Ṛgvedins further add the *devīhavis* (Dange 1993–94: 3–5). AB 3.48.1–5 and ĀśvŚS 6.14.17–18 mention the offerings to Sūrya, Dyaus, Uṣas, Cow, and Pṛthivī and they are identified with Dhātṛ, Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū respectively. According to KB 19.7 [86,21–23] ten goddesses are to be worshipped and ŚāṅkhŚS 9.28.4–15 mentions them. They are Āpaḥ, Oṣadhayaḥ, Cows, Uṣas, Rātri, Sūryā, Dyaus, Pṛthivī, Vāc, and Cow.

[27] ĀpŚS 13.24.1–5. ĀpŚS refers to TS 3.4.9.1 in the context of the Agniṣṭoma.

[28] In the context of the Rājasūya HirŚS 13.3.41–42 teaches three cases, for a *prajākāma*, *paśukāma* and *āmayāvin*.

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of the TS and corresponding passages of KS and MS are added after those of the TS.[29]

1. For one who desires offspring (*prajākāma*).
   TS 3.4.9.1 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed at the beginning).
   KS 12.8 [170,13–17] (3), MS 4.3.5 [44,14–17] (4) (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed at the end).

1-1. When a son is born.
   KS 12.8 [170,17–19] (4), MS 4.3.5 [44,17–19 (5) (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed at the beginning).

2. For one who desires cattle (*paśukāma*).
   TS 3.4.9.1–2 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed at the beginning).
   KS 12.8 [170,6–13] (2), MS 4.3.5 [44,8–14] (3) (no mention of the variation).

3. For one who desires a village (*grāmakāma*).
   TS 3.4.9.2–3 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed in the middle).[30]

4. For one who is long ill (*jyogāmayāvin* TS, *āmayāvin* KS and MS).
   TS 3.4.9.3 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed in the middle).
   KS 12.8 [170,19–171,3] (3), MS 4.3.6 [45,1–10] (6) (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed in the middle; an animal sacrifice is performed.[31]

5. For one whom the *yajña* does not favour (*yaṃ yajño nopanamet*).
   TS 3.4.9.3–4 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed at the beginning).

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[29] The number in parentheses after KS and MS refers to the order in the description of the ritual applications.

[30] According to HirŚS 13.3.42 ... *dhātāraṃ madhyataḥ kṛtvā prajākāmaḥ putrair* .../42/ – "Placing the Dhātṛ in the middle one who desires progeny together with ones sons ..." this variation is applied to the case of a *prajākāma*.

[31] According to HirŚS 13.3.42 ... *dhātāram uttamaṃ kṛtvāmayāvī paśunā yajate* /42/ for a diseased person an animal sacrifice is performed, while the offering to Dhātṛ is placed at the end.

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6. For one who has performed a *yajña* (*ījāna*).
TS 3.4.9.4–5 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is placed at the end).

6-1. For one who has performed a soma sacrifice.
MS 4.3.5 [44,4–6] (1) (no mention of the variation), cf. KS 12.8 [170,3–6].

6-2. For one who has been consecrated by the Rājasūya.[32]
MS 4.3.5 [44,6–8] (2) (no mention of the variation).

6-3. For one who has performed the *sarvavedasa*.[33]

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[32] According to KS 12.10 [172,21–22] and MS 2.4.1 [38,16–18], which explains the effects of the Sautrāmaṇī, the performer of the Rājasūya loses his *vīrya* or manly power. When MS 4.3.1 [40,8–21] explains the sacrificial cake cooked in eleven potsherds to Indra and Agni offered at the beginning of the Rājasūya, it also says the performer of the Rājasūya loses his *ojas* or force and *vīrya*. In MS 4.4.9 [59,15–60,7], explaining the *sāmans* of the Daśapeya included in the Rājasūya, he loses many powers such as *ojas* and *vīrya*, *vāc* (speech), and *indriya* (Indra-like power) and *vīrya*. This idea that the performer of the Rājasūya loses some powers may be the reason that the performance of the *devikāhavis* is recommended to him.

[33] The word *sarvavedasa* means, as a neuter noun, one's all possession as in AV 9.5.17 *yenā sahasraṃ vahasi yenāgne sarvavedasam / tenemaṃ yajñaṃ no vaha svar deveṣu gantave //* – "The way by which you carry a thousand, by which, o Agni, one's all possession; by that way carry you this our sacrifice to heaven among the gods." (The same and almost same verses are found in TS 5.7.7.g, KS 18.18 [278,20–21]; KS 40.13 [147,16–17], VS 15.55, TS 4.7.13.l, and MS 2.12.4 [148,8–9]. For the different readings, see Whitney 1905: 535 note on AV 9.5.17.) See also MS 1.6.13 [107,9–12] (Agnyādheya), TB 3.11.8.1 (Nāciketacayana, mythical explanation) and ŚB 13.6.2.19 (Puruṣamedha, *dakṣiṇā*). ŚB 10.2.5.16, in a section dealing with the *upasads* in the Agnicayana, says that all one's property is given in the Viśvajit Sarvapṛṣṭha Atirātra which is to be performed when the *yajamāna* cannot perform the soma sacrifice for a year. ĀpŚS 22.1.7–8 prescribes a thousand (cows) or all one's property as the *dakṣiṇā* of the Viśvajit Agniṣṭoma. Then the *sarvavedasa* is used as an adjective that describes a sacrifice in which one's all possession is given as *dakṣiṇā*, especially the Viśvajit Atirātra as e.g. PB 9.3.1 prescribes that the Viśvajit Atirātra which is *sarvavedasa* is to be performed as a *prāyaścitta* when a *sattrin* leaves off the *sattra*

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KS 12.8 [171,3–6] (*sarvavedasin)* (6), MS 4.3.6 [45,10–13] (*sarvavedasenejāna*) (7) (no mention of the variation).

6-4. For one who performs a soma sacrifice.
KS 12.8 [171,6–7] (7), MS 4.3.6 [45,13–16] (8) (no mention of the variation).

7. For one whom wisdom (*medhā*) does not favour.
TS 3.4.9.5 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is made at the beginning).

8. For one who desires brilliance (*ruc*).
TS 3.4.9.5–6 (variation: the offering to Dhātṛ is made in the middle; offerings are cooked in milk).

9. For the case to obtain any desire.
TS 3.4.9.6–7 (variation: one should offer the first two, and a third to Dhātṛ, and then the last two).

4. Optional rituals: *kāmyeṣṭis*, *kāmyapaśus* and *kāmyasomas*

Thus I have discussed two examples of the ritual application of a certain ritual element for the accomplishment of various purposes.

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unfinished. JB 1.348 [144,9–11] and BaudhŚS 14.29 [202,12–203,2] prescribe the same, but according to TB 1.4.7.7 it is a soma sacrifice which is *sarvapṛṣṭha* and *sarvavedasa* which is to be performed as a *prāyaścitta* in the same situation (Caland 1931: 204, note 1 on PB 9.3.2). KB 25.14 [119,3–12] generally states that the Viśvajit Atirātra is *sarvavedasa*, i.e. the performer gives all his possession as its *dakṣiṇā*. In this case, in MS 4.3.6 [45,10–11], the *sarvavedasa* is treated as a sacrifice the performer of which is recommended to perform the *devikāhavis*, namely the word *sarvavedasa* is used as a nominalized adjective denoting a certain sacrifice in which one's all possession is given away. The *sarvavedasa* is mentioned as a sacrifice in which *aśvatara* or a mule is given as *dakṣiṇā* in TS 7.1.1.3 and ĀpŚS 13.5.3; a sacrifice in which *soma* is to be bought with twenty-four cows in ĀpŚS 10.26.5; a sacrifice in which the *aṃśugraha* is to be offered in ŚB 4.6.1.15 and ĀpŚS 12.8.13; a sacrifice in which the *pravargya* is to be performed by one who desires *sarva* in ŚB 14.2.2.47; a sacrifice in which three *anūbandhyā* cows are to be offered in ĀpŚS 13.23.14; a sacrifice in which the Nāciketacayana is to be performed in ĀpŚS 19.14.6.

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When I found these two examples, I also became aware of the fact that in the Vedic ritual texts there were seemingly a great number of cases in which a certain ritual element belonging to different levels of the whole *śrauta* ritual system was used for different purposes or even interpreted differently. On the level of the *iṣṭi*, the animal sacrifice and the *soma* sacrifice, namely on the level of three basic forms of the *śrauta* rituals, there are many variations of each ritual type according to the desires such as the *kāmyeṣṭi*s, *kāmyapaśu*s and *ekāha*s respectively. The *kāmyeṣṭi*s are the variations of the new and full moon sacrifice by changing the deities and oblations to them (Caland 1908: IV) and they are analysed in great detail by W. Caland (Caland 1908).[34] The *kāmyapaśu*s are the variations of the normal animal sacrifice by changing the deities and animals to be offered,[35] and the *ekāha*s, which have the character of the optional *soma* sacrifice (Hillebrandt 1897: 138), are the variations of the Agniṣṭoma by choosing one of the four sub-varieties of the Agniṣṭoma such as Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atirātra and Aptoryāma[36] including the Agniṣṭoma itself as the ritual form and changing *dakṣiṇā* or other elements.[37] I suppose that

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[34] The *kāmyeṣṭi*s are prescribed in the following texts: KS 9.17–12.9, MS 2.1.1–4.8, TS 2.2.1–2.4.14, GB 2.1.13–16, ĀśvŚS 2.10–13, MānŚS 5.1.5–2.3, BaudhŚS 13.1–43 [119,1–151,7], ĀpŚS 19.18–27, HirŚS 22.3–14.

[35] ĀpŚS 19.16.2 *kāmyaiḥ paśubhir amāvāsyāyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ vā yajeta* /1/ *teṣāṃ nirūḍhapaśubandhavat kalpaḥ* /2/ – "1. One should perform the optional animal sacrifices either on the new moon day or on the full moon day. 2. The ritual procedure is like the normal animal sacrifice." They are described in KS 13.1–8, MS 2.5.1–11, TS 2.1.1–10, TB 3.6.1–15, GB 2.2.1, MānŚS 5.2.10, BaudhŚS 24.38–39 [224,10–226,3], ĀpŚS 19.16–17 and HirŚS 22.1–2.

[36] See ĀpŚS 14.1.1 *ukthyaḥ ṣoḍaśy atirātro 'ptoryāmaś cāgniṣṭomasya guṇavikārāḥ* /1/

[37] The *ekāha*s are described in KS 38.1–9, PB 16–19, TB 2.7, ŚB 14–15, JB 2.81–234, LāṭyŚS 8.1–9.4, ĀśvŚS 9.1–10.1.10, ŚāṅkhŚS 14–15, MānŚS 9.3, BaudhŚS 18, 22.30–33, ĀpŚS 22.1–13, HirŚS 17.1–4, KātyŚS 22 and VaitS 39.1–40.14. That they have the character of the optional sacrifices

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the underlying idea which led to produce such *kāmya* variations may be formulated as follows: the ritual procedure of the norms of the *iṣṭi*, the animal sacrifice and the *soma* sacrifice are the source of the supernatural power the efficacy of which was so firmly believed in by people that their variations which retained their basic ritual procedure could again activate their supernatural power.

In the following I briefly describe examples of the ritual applications belonging to the lower levels than the three basic forms of the *śrauta* rituals in order to show how widely this kind of manoeuvre spread in the *śrauta* ritual system.

5. Ritual applications of a certain *iṣṭi* for different purposes

The second case of the *devikāhavis* that I have discussed here has as its core a type of *iṣṭi*, namely a *dvādaśakapāla puroḍāśa* to Dhātṛ and a *caru* to each of the four goddesses Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū; thus an offering of certain oblations to certain deities is used repeatedly for different purposes by changing ritual elements slightly. By following the study of the *kāmyeṣṭi*s by W. Caland (Caland 1908) we can easily find several examples of this type just mentioned. They are as follows:

5-1 A sacrificial cake cooked on eleven potsherds to Indra and Agni, Caland's nos 1–6.[38]

No. 1, for one who desires progeny (*prajākāma*).
No. 2, for one who desires dependent persons (*sajātakāma*).[39]
No. 3, for one who has rivals (*bhrātṛvyavat*).
No. 4, for one who is about to go to battle.

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can be found easily by reading the translations of some Śrautasūtras, such as ŚāṅkhŚS 14.14–84 (Caland 1953: 382–419), MānŚS 9.3.4.1–7.31 (van Gelder 1963: 269–273), and ĀpŚS 22.1.6–13.29 (Caland 1928: 306–334).

[38] The following examples are referred to by mentioning the numbers which W. Caland gave in his study of the *kāmyeṣṭi*s.

[39] For the meaning of *sajāta*, see Rau 1957: 54–56.

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No. 5, for one who is going to fight.
No. 6, for one who has won a battle.

These six examples show that one and the same *iṣṭi*, namely the ritual of offering a sacrificial cake cooked on eleven potsherds to Indra and Agni, can be used for six different purposes.

5-2 A sacrificial cake cooked on twelve potsherds to Agni Vaiśvānara, Caland's nos 9–18, 21–24, 29–30

No. 9, for one who desires everything (*sarvakāma*).
No. 10, for the one of two who have made compact who is the first to show treachery (TS 2.2.6.2 *samamānayoḥ pūrvo 'bhidruhya*).
No. 11, for one who is eager to come to acquisition (TS 2.2.6.4 *sanim eṣyan*).
No. 12, for one who comes back after obtaining acquisition.
No. 13, for one who is going to eat non-food (*ananna* KS 10.4 [127,1], MS 2.1.2 [2,16]).[40]
No. 14, for one who goes to battle (MS).
No. 15, for one who is going to fight.
No. 16, for one who has won a battle.
No. 17, for one who wishes to go to a raid of grain.[41]
No. 18, for one who expects rainfall.
No. 21, for one who desires a village (*grāmakāma*), who desires prosperity (*bhūtikāma*), and who desires fame as a Brahmin (*brahmavarcasakāma*).
No. 22, for one who wants to remove one's sacrificial fire (KS 10.4 [128,19] *agnim utsādayiṣyan*).

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[40] TS 2.2.6.2 says *yo vidviṣāṇayor annam atti* – "one who of two who hate each other eats food of the other". Non-food may be food which is socially not allowed to eat.

[41] KS 10.3 [127,14] *yaḥ kāmayetānena rājñā vā grāmaṇyā vedaṃ sasyam ādadīyeti* – "One who wishes, 'I will take off grain with this ruler or with this leader'." MS 2.1.2 [3,6–7] *yaḥ kāmayetānena rājñemān yavān vrīhīn vādadhīyeti* – "One who wishes ' I will put here barley or rice with this ruler'."

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No. 23, for one who has received a sheep as *dakṣiṇā*.
No. 24, for one who has received a man as *dakṣiṇā* (KS) or one who has received an animal having teeth in both jaws (TS).
No. 29, for one to whom a son is born.
No. 30, for one who regularly performs the new and full moon sacrifices and omits either a new moon day or a full moon day.

5-3 A *caru* to Soma and Rudra, Caland's nos 42–45.

No. 42, for one who practices sorcery.
No. 43, for one who wishes: 'In his own abode may I produce a foe for him'.[42]
No. 44, for one who is sick for a long time.
No. 45, for one who desires progeny or cattle.

5-4 A sacrificial cake cooked in eleven potsherds to Agni and Viṣṇu, Caland's nos 47–48, 50–51.

No. 47, for one who practices sorcery.
No. 48, for one who is in battle.
No. 50, for one who begins to perform the animal sacrifice.
No. 51, for one whom the sacrifice does not favour.

5-5 A sacrificial cake cooked on eleven potsherds to Indra and a sacrificial cake cooked on seven potsherds to the Maruts, Caland's nos 58, 60–61.

No. 58, for one who wishes to cause quarrel between *viś* and *kṣatra*.[43]
No. 60, for that the relation between *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* is put in order.
No. 61, for one who practices sorcery.

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[42] TS 2.2.10.5 *yaḥ kāmayeta sve 'smā āyatane bhrātṛvyaṃ janeyam iti*. MS 2.1.6 [7,17–18] *yaḥ kāmayeta dvitīyam asya loke janeyam iti* – "One who wishes, 'I will produce the second in his world'." KS 11.5 [150,11] *bhrātṛvyatāyai vā dvitīyatāyai vā* – "For the fact that (one's rival) has a rival or for the fact he has the second."

[43] KS 10.11 [139,3–4] *yaḥ kāmayeta viśe ca kṣatrāya ca samadaṃ kuryām iti*. TS 2.2.11.2 *yaḥ kāmayeta kṣatrāya ca viśe ca samadaṃ dadhyām iti*.

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5-6 A *caru* to Bṛhaspati, Caland's nos 102a, 103–105, 107–108.

No. 102a, for one who wants to have the position of a *purohita*.
No. 103, for one who desires a village or cattle (MS), or for one who desires a village (TS), or for one who desires dependent persons (KS, *sajātakāma*).
No. 104, for one who is in battle.
No. 105, for one who wants to secure the predominance of the Brahmins over the *vaiśya*s.
No. 107, for a Brahmin who is born after his brothers (TS *brāhmaṇa ānujāvara*) or for one who is born after the brothers (KS *ānujāvara*).
No. 108, for one who desires cattle (KS, MS) or for one who desires progeny (TS).

5-7 A sacrificial cake cooked on eleven potsherds to Indra, Caland's nos 106, 142, 154.

No. 106, for a *rājanya* who is born after the brothers (TS *rājanya ānujāvara*).
No. 142, for a king who was expelled from his kingdom.
No. 154, for a *rājanya* who wants to prosper (KS *rājanya bubhūṣat*), or for one who being fit for prosperity is equal with his fellows (TS 2.2.8.6 *yo 'laṃ śriyai sant sadṛṅk samānaiḥ syāt*).

5-8 A sacrificial cake cooked on eleven potsherds to Indra Arkavat Aśvamedhavat, Caland's nos 127–129.

No. 127, for one who wants to prosper in foreign people.
No. 128, for one who has attained splendour (*gataśrī*).
No. 129, for one who wishes that a great sacrifice favours him (KS, MS) or for one whom the great sacrifice does not favour (TS).[44]

[44] KS 10.9 [135,7] *yaḥ kāmayeta mahāyajño mopanamed iti*. MS 2.2.9 [22,18–19] *yaḥ kāmayeta mahāyajño mopanamed iti*. TS 2.2.7.5 *yaṃ mahāyajño nopanamet*.

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5-9 A *caru* to Aryaman, Caland's nos 171–173.

No. 171, for one who desires heaven.
No. 172, for one who wants that one's people become fond of giving.[45]
No. 173, for one who wants a safe journey to the foreign people.[46]

Thus we have a great number of examples of this kind of ritual applications that an offering of certain oblations to certain deities is used repeatedly for different purposes. Of the first six examples of the sacrificial cake cooked on eleven potsherds to Indra and Agni mentioned in paragraph 5-1, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* describes four cases, namely no. 1 in TS 2.2.1.1–2, no. 2 in TS 2.2.1.2, no. 4 in TS 2.2.1.2–3 and no. 6 in TS 2.2.1.3–4 successively. The TS only explains differently but does not mention any concrete changes of ritual elements. We know from the description in BaudhŚS that the inviting verse and the offering verse change partly.[47]

6. Variations of a certain ritual element

Variations of a certain ritual element in the course of the performance can be regarded as other examples.

6-1 Different numbers of the *sāmidhenī* verses,[48] TS 2.5.10.1–4:

1. Nine for a *rājanya*.
2. Fifteen for a *rājanya*.
3. Seventeen for a *vaiśya*.
4. Twenty-one for one who desires firm position (*pratiṣṭhākāma*).
5. Twenty-four for one who desires fame as a Brahmin.

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[45] KS 11.4 [148,3–4] = TS 2.3.4.1 *yaḥ kāmayeta dānakāmā me prajās syur iti.*

[46] TS 2.3.4.2 *yaḥ kāmayeta svasti janatām iyām iti.*

[47] According to BaudhŚS 13.2 [120,8] the inviting verse and the offering verse of no. 1 is TS 1.1.14.a and b; the two verses of no. 2 are TS 4.2.11.a and b (BaudhŚS 13.2 [120,10]), the two verses of no. 4 are TS 4.2.11.a and b (BaudhŚS 13.2 [120,10], but the no. 6 uses the same pair of verses as no. 1.

[48] In the *śrauta* sacrifice the *hotṛ* priest recites a certain number of the *sāmidhenī* verses before offering various oblations and the *adhvaryu* puts

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6. Thirty for one who desires food (*annakāma*).
7. Thirty-two for one who desires firm position.
8. Thirty-six for one who desires cattle.
9. Forty-four for one who desires Indra-like power (*indriyakāma*).
10. Forty-eight for one who desires cattle.
11. Verses in all metres for one who offered many sacrifices.
12. Unlimited numbers are for unlimited desires.

6-2 Different materials for offering in the Agnihotra, TB 2.1.5.5–6:

1. Melted butter for one who desires brilliance (*tejaskāma*).
2. Milk for one who desires cattle.
3. Yogurt for one who desires Indra-like power.
4. Rice gruel (*yavāgū*) for one who desires a village.

6-3 Different kinds of wood of the *yūpa* or the sacrificial post in the animal sacrifice, AB 2.1.5, 6, 10:

1. (AB 2.1.5) *khadira* wood for one who desires heaven.
2. (AB 2.1.6) *bilva* wood for one who desires proper food and prosperity (*annādyakāma*, *puṣṭikāma*).
3. (AB 2.1.10) *palāśa* wood for one who desires brilliance (*tejaskāma*).

6-4 Different metres of the *saṃyājye*[49] in the *dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi*, AB 1.5.1–25:

1. (AB 1.5.1) *gāyatrī* for one who desires brilliance and fame as a Brahmin.

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the kindling sticks of the same number to prepare the fire for offering to the accompaniment of these verses. Their number varies according to the sacrifice, e.g. fifteen in the new and full moon sacrifice (Hillebrandt 1879: 79, n. 2), and seventeen in the Cāturmāsya (Einoo 1988: 30) and the normal animal sacrifice (Schwab 1886: 83). The cases discussed here in paragraph 6–1 are applied to the performance of the new and full moon sacrifice.

[49] The *saṃyājye* or two *saṃyājyas* are the name of the inviting verse (*puro 'nuvākyā*) and the offering verse (*yājyā*) for the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt performed just after the main offerings of each sacrifice. See e.g. commentary on ĀśvŚS 2.1.21 *sauviṣṭakṛtyor yājyānuvākyayor ṛcor anena saṃyājye iti saṃjñā vidhīyate*.

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2. (AB 1.5.4) *uṣṇih* for one who desires full lifespan (*āyuṣkāma*).
3. (AB 1.5.7) *anuṣṭubh* for one who desires heaven.
4. (AB 1.5.10) *bṛhatī* for one who desires splendour and fame (*śrīkāma* and *yaśaskāma*).
5. (AB 1.5.13) *paṅkti* for one who desires sacrifice (*yajñakāma*).
6. (AB 1.5.16) *triṣṭubh* for one who desires manly power.
7. (AB 1.5.19) *jagatī* for one who desires cattle.
8. (AB 1.5.22) *virāj* for one who desires proper food.

6-5 Different characteristics of the sacrificial ground of the soma sacrifice, TS 6.2.6.1–4:

1. A *purohavis*[50] for one for whom he wishes that the further sacrifice favours one and that one gains the world of heaven.
2. An *āpta*[51] for one who has a rival.
3. An *ekonnata*[52] for one who desires cattle.
4. A *tryunnata*[53] for one who desires heaven.

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[50] TS 6.2.6.1 *etad vai purohavir devayajanaṃ yasya hotā prātaranuvākam anubruvann agnim apa ādityam abhi vipaśyati* – "That is the place of sacrifice where the sacrifice faces the east, where the Hotṛ as he recites the Prātaranuvāka gazes upon the fire, water, and the sun "(Keith 1914: 507).

[51] TS 6.2.6.1–2 *panthāṃ vādhisparśayet kartaṃ vā yāvan nānase yātavai /1/ na rathāyaitad vā āptaṃ devayajanam* – "He should make it touch the road or a pit so that neither a wagon nor a chariot can go between. That is a contiguous place of sacrifice" (Keith 1914: 507).

[52] TS 6.2.6.2 *antarā sadohavirdhāne unnataṃ syād etad vā ekonnataṃ devayajanam* – "It should be elevated between the seat (the *sadas* hut) and oblation-holders (the two *havirdhāna* carts). That is a place of sacrifice elevated in one place" (Keith 1914: 507).

[53] TS 6.2.6.2–3 *antarāhavanīyaṃ ca havirdhānaṃ ca /2/ unnataṃ syād antarā havirdhānaṃ ca sadaś cāntarā sadaś ca gārhaptyaṃ caitad vai tryunnataṃ devayajanam* – "It should be elevated between the Āhavanīya fire and the oblation-holder, between the oblation-holder and the seat, and between the seat and the Gārhapatya fire" (Keith 1914: 508).

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5. A *pratiṣṭhita*[54] for one who desires the firm position.
6. A place where various kinds of grasses are intertwined[55] for one who desires cattle.
7. A *nirṛtigṛhīta*[56] for one for whom he wishes: 'May I cause his sacrifice to be seized by Nirṛti.'
8. A *vyāvṛtta*[57] for one regarding whom they have doubts as to common meals or to marriage.[58]
9. A *kārya* or an artificial (?) for one who desires prosperity.

7. Different interpretations of one and the same ritual act or element

When we take into consideration the fact that the offerings with the *rāṣṭrabhṛt* mantras and the performance of the *devikāhavis* sometimes bring different results even without changing any ritual acts, the same way of thinking is expressed in the examples which interpret one and the same ritual act or a certain ritual element differently and attribute different results or purposes to it:

7-1 Three different effects of the worship of the fire (*agnyupasthāna*) in the Agnihotra. TS 1.5.9.1–5:

1. (TS 1.5.9.1–2) he is fruitful and day by day becomes greater.
2. (TS 1.5.9.2–3) he becomes possessed of cattle.
3. (TS 1.5.9.4–5) he goes to the world of heaven and lives all his days (Keith 1914: 78–79).

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[54] TS 6.2.6.3 *etad vai pratiṣṭhitaṃ devayajanaṃ yat sarvataḥ samam* "That is a place of sacrifice which is firm, which is level on all sides" (Keith 1914: 508).

[55] TS 6.2.6.3 *yatrānyā anyā oṣadhayo vyatiṣaktāḥ syus*.

[56] TS 6.2.6.4 *etad vai nirṛtigṛhītaṃ devayajanaṃ yat sadṛśyai satyā ṛkṣam* – "That is a place of sacrifice seized by destruction where there is a bare patch of level ground" (Keith 1914: 508).

[57] TS 6.2.6.4 *prācīnam āhavanīyāt pravaṇaṃ syāt pratīcīnaṃ gārhapatyād etad vai vyāvṛttaṃ devayajanam* – "It should be sloping east of the Āhavanīya and west of the Gārhapatya" (Keith 1914: 508).

[58] TS 6.2.6.4 *yam pātre vā talpe vā mīmāṃseran*.

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7-2 Five different explanations of the formulas: *ā śrāvaya, astu śrauṣaṭ, yaja, ye yajāmahe*, and *vaṣaṭkāra.*[59] TS 1.6.11.1–4:

1. (TS 1.6.11.1) he rests secure through the sacrifice and does not fall away from the sacrifice.
2. (TS 1.6.11.1–2) he reaches the end with a secure and uninjured sacrifice.
3. (TS 1.6.11.2–3) he milks *sūnṛtā* or generousness.
4. (TS 1.6.11.3–4) for him the quarters are made to swell.
5. (TS 1.6.11.4) he becomes propitious (*puṇya*) (Keith 1914: 94–95).

7-3 Seven different explanations of the *anvāhārya.*[60] TS 1.7.3.1–3:

1. (TS 1.7.3.1a) he delights the Brahmins.
2. (TS 1.7.3.1b) he mends the rent in the sacrifice.
3. (TS 1.7.3.1–2) whatever in the sacrifice is harsh or injured, that he makes good.
4. (TS 1.7.3.2a) he delights the messengers of the gods.
5. (TS 1.7.3.2b) he assuredly enjoys Prajāpati.
6. (TS 1.7.3.2c) in order to win Prajāpati.
7. (TS 1.7.3.3) he prospers himself, his foe is defeated (Keith 1914: 100).

7-4 Five different explanations of the *prayājas.*[61] TS 2.6.1.1–7:

1. Five seasons are obtained.
2. Uṣas, sacrifice, cattle, progeny and speech are obtained.
3. The sacrificer stands firm in this world, in the sacrifice and in the atmosphere, in cattle, on the way leading to the gods, and

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[59] For the dialogues between the *adhvaryu* and the *āgnīdhra* and between the *adhvaryu* and the *hotṛ* by using each of these words in the new and full moon sacrifice, see Hillebrandt 1880: 104–105.

[60] The *anvāhārya* is cooked rice given to the priests after the main events of the sacrifice, see Hillebrandt 1880: 132–134.

[61] Before the main offerings in the new and full moon sacrifices five *prayājas* or preliminary offerings of butter to five deities, namely to *samidhs, iḍs, tanūnapāt, barhis* and the deities of the main offerings, are performed. See Hillebrandt 1879: 94–101.

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in the world of heaven.
4. The sacrificer expels his enemy.
5. The sacrificer who knows the two sets of pairs, namely the pair of *samidh*s and *tanūnapāt* and the pair of *iḍ*s and *barhis*, is propagated with progeny, cattle and pairs.

7-5 Seven different explanations of the new and full moon sacrifices. TS 2.5.6.1–3:

1. The new and full moon sacrifices are the chariot of the gods (*devaratha*); one who performs the *soma* sacrifice, after performing these two sacrifices, rests in the chosen resting-place of the gods which is conspicuous for their chariot (tracks).[62]
2. They are the limbs and joints of the year; the performer of them puts the limbs and joints of the year in order.[63]
3. They are the eyes of the year; the performer of them sees with them the world of heaven.[64]
4. They are the striding of the gods; the performer of them steps in the striding of the gods.[65]
5. They are the way leading to the gods; the performer of them mounts the way leading to the gods.[66]
6. They are the two bay horses of the gods; the performer of them carries oblation with the two bay horses of the gods.[67]

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[62] TS 2.5.6.1 *yo darśapūrṇamāsāv iṣṭvā somena yajate rathaspaṣṭa evāvasāne vare devānām ava syati.*

[63] TS 2.5.6.1 *ya evaṃ vidvān darśapūrṇamāsau yajate 'ṅgāparūṃṣy eva saṃvatsarasya prati dadhāti.*

[64] TS 2.5.6.1 *ya evaṃ vidvān darśapūrṇamāsau yajate tābhyām eva suvargaṃ lokam anu paśyati.*

[65] TS 2.5.6.2 *ya evaṃ vidvān darśapūrṇamāsau yajate devānām eva vikrāntim anu vi kramate.*

[66] TS 2.5.6.2 *ya evaṃ vidvān darśapūrṇamāsau yajate ya eva devayānaḥ panthās taṃ samārohati.*

[67] TS 2.5.6.2–3 *ya evaṃ vidvān darśapūrṇamāsau yajate yāv eva devānāṃ harī tābhyām /2/ evaibhyo havyaṃ vahati.*

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7. They are the mouth of the gods; the performer of them manifestly offers in the mouth of the gods[68] (Keith 1914: 194–195).

7-6 Six different purposes of the performance of the Agnicayana.[69]

0. The performer prospers.[70]
1. The performer becomes the owner of the fire.
2. The gods become aware of him.
3. He becomes the owner of a house.
4. He becomes the owner of cattle.
5. Seven generations, namely three ancestors, three descendants, and he himself, live upon him in yonder world.[71]

Concluding remarks

Thus I have examined a number of examples of different ritual applications and of different interpretations of one and the same ritual element on different levels of the whole *śrauta* ritual system. Each type of the *śrauta* sacrifice, an *iṣṭi* or an animal sacrifice or a *soma* sacrifice, was a source of supernatural power and the Vedic Brahmins and the surrounding people believed in its manifold efficacies. Therefore they

[68] TS 2.5.6.3 *ya evaṃ vidvān darśapūrṇamāsau yajate sākṣād eva devānām āsye juhoti.*

[69] By repeating the same pattern of the sentences six different purposes of the Agnicayana are expressed. The first purpose reads as follows: TS 5.5.2.1–2 *kasmai kam agniś cīyata ity āhur agnivān* /1/ *asānīti vā agniś cīyate 'gnivān eva bhavati* – "For what purpose is the fire piled? Thus they say. 'May I become the owner of the fire,' thus the fire is piled. He really becomes the owner of the fire."

[70] At the beginning of the chapter a mythical episode is related and the purpose that the performer prospers is given as the conclusion: TS 5.5.2.1 *ya evaṃ vidvān agniṃ cinuta ṛdhnoty eva.*

[71] TS 5.5.2.2 *kasmai kam agniś cīyata ity āhuḥ sapta mā puruṣā upa jīvan iti vā agniś cīyate trayaḥ prāñcas trayaḥ pratyañca ātmā saptama etāvanta evainam amuṣmiṅ loke upa jīvanti.*

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interpreted a certain sacrifice differently, and they performed a certain sacrifice for the sake of different results. A ritual element of the *śrauta* sacrifice was again full of such power that changes of a ritual element brought different effects. This widespread phenomenon in the Vedic ritual texts that a certain ritual element is used for various purposes is supposedly based on the firm belief of the Vedic people that the *śrauta* ritual is an excellent source of supernatural power which can accomplish a variety of effects. And this mentality seemingly survived so deeply in the minds of the post-Vedic ritual practitioners that when they invented a powerful deity or a powerful mantra of a certain deity, it was natural for them to use it for the sake of various purposes. We cannot assume direct relations between the Vedic and Tantric rituals but the ritual applications of one and the same mantra of a certain deity for a variety of effects may be understood as a remote survival of the firm belief of the Vedic Brahmins in their powerful ritual system.

Abbreviation:

AB: *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa.*
ĀpŚS: *Āpastambaśrautasūtra.*
ĀśvŚS: *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra.*
AVPŚ: *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa.*
BaudhŚS: *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra.*
BhārŚS: *Bhāradvājaśrautasūtra.*
GB: *Gopathabrāhmaṇa.*
HirŚS: *Hiraṇyakeśiśrautasūtra.*
JB: *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa.*
KapS: *Kapiṣṭhalakaṭhasaṃhitā.*
KātyŚS: *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra.*
KB: *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa.*
KS: *Kāṭhaka.*

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LātyŚS: *Lātyāyanaśrautasūtra.*
MānŚS: *Mānavaśrautasūtra.*
MS: *Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā.*
PB: *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa.*
ṚV: *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā.*
ŚāṅkhŚS: *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra.*
ŚB: *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa.*
TB: *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa.*
TS: *Taittirīyasaṃhitā.*
VaikhGS: *Vaikhānasagṛhyasūtra.*
VaikhŚS: *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra.*
VaitS: *Vaitānasūtra.*
VārŚS: *Vārāhaśrautasūtra.*
VS: *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā.*

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Ṛgvidhāna, see Bhat 1987.

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Lesser Known Śaiva Initiations: Critical Edition of the *Vijñānadīkṣā* Chapter of the Hitherto Unpublished *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, One of the Āgamas of the Śaivasiddhānta Tradition and Its Brief Presentation

SUMMARY: Various *Śaivāgamas* treat the important rite of *dīkṣā* in a detailed fashion. The account of different types of *dīkṣā* expounded in the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama* is very interesting and seems to be unique in some ways. The present paper briefly discusses *Vijñānadīkṣā*, one of the lesser known types of *dīkṣā*, accompanied by a critical edition of the chapter of the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*.

KEYWORDS: Śaiva, initiation, *āgama*, Śivahood, liberation.

The *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, composed of nearly 6000 verses, is traditionally considered to be an *upāgama* of the *Cintyāgama*; it has been a text of great authority for the authors of many ritual manuals (*paddhati*) and great *āgamic* compilations, such as the *Dīkṣādarśa* (composed by Nigamajñāna in the 16th century). It has many interesting features and treats many less known *dīkṣā* rites, such as the *karmadīkṣā*, *tritattvakarmadīkṣā*, *yogadīkṣā*, *vijñānadīkṣā*, etc. Though it has not been divided into the well known *jñāna*, *yoga*, *kriyā* and *caryā pādas*, it contains all the subject matters pertaining to these sections.

Dīkṣā

According to the *āgamas* there are three fundamental realities: the Supreme Lord (*pati*), who is Śiva, the individual selves

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(*paśu*) and the inert material world (*pāśa*); while Śiva's power of knowledge and action (*jñānakriyāsvabhāva*) is unlimited and illimitable, that of the individual self is limited. But the self has the same unlimited power of knowledge and action as Śiva[1] which is covered since beginningless time by an impurity called *mala*;[2] since it pertains to the self, it is called *āṇavamala*. Thus obstructed, the self considers himself to be of limited intellect and power, to be always dependent. It wrongly identifies himself with the material psycho-physical body and thus experiences pleasure and pain, repeated births and deaths.[3] As an inevitable consequence and due to its ignorance, the self gets bound by another bondage, *māyā*,[4] and experiences pain and pleasure, which are the fruits of its accumulated *karma*. The *Śivāgamas* declare that, being a substance (*dravya*), this obstructing agent, the *āṇavamala*, can be removed only by the power of grace of Śiva.[5] This act is technically called *dīkṣā* and is performed by Śiva[6] through the medium of

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1 चैतन्यं दृक्क्रियारूपं तदस्त्यात्मनि सर्वदा।
(*Mṛgendrāgama*, Vp, 2:5ab)

2 अनादिमलसम्बन्धान्मलिनत्वमणोः स्थितम्।
अनादिमलमुक्तत्वान्निर्मलत्वं शिवे स्थितम्॥
(*Kiraṇāgama*, Vp, 2:2)
अनादिमलसम्बन्धात्किञ्चिज्ज्ञोऽसौ मयोदितः।
अनादिमलमुक्तत्वात्सर्वज्ञोऽसौ ततः शिवः॥
(*Kiraṇatantra*, Vp. 2:2 according to Dominic Goodall, Goodall 1998)

3 पशुरात्माऽस्वतन्त्रश्च चिन्मात्रो मलदूषितः।
सम्मूढो नित्यसंसारी किञ्चिज्ज्ञोऽनीश्वरोऽक्रियः॥
(*Sarvajñānottara*, Vp, 1:4)
अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मा यस्मादिद्विजर्षभाः।
सोऽपि सापिक्षयैव स्यात् स्वप्रवृत्तौ घटादिवत्॥
(*Pauṣkarāgama*, Vp, 1:86)

4 पशोरज्ञतया मायायोगो भोगाय कर्मणाम्।
(*Varuṇapaddhati*, 7ab)

5 दीक्षैव मोचयत्यूर्ध्वं शैवं धाम नयत्यपि।
(*Svāyambhuvāgama* as quoted in the comm. *Vilocana* on *Varuṇapaddhati*, 5ab)

6 समयादीश्वरेच्छातो मुक्तिर्नास्त्यन्यथा यतः।
(*Varuṇapaddhati*, 7cd)

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the *ācārya*. Once done, the innate power of supreme knowledge and action of the self is restored and it starts manifesting it in all its future activities. According to the *Śaivāgamas*, for some highly evolved and mature selves, technically called *vijñānākala* and *pralayākala*, Śiva performs the *dīkṣā* directly whereas it is the *ācārya* who, himself initiated before and practising regularly all the rites prescribed in the *Āgamas*, performs the rite of *dīkṣā* for the ordinary men called *sakala*.[7] Though physically it is the *ācārya* who performs the rite, spiritually it is Śiva who, through the medium of the *ācārya*, executes the entire rite of *dīkṣā*. Varuṇaśiva, one of the earliest Śaiva *ācāryas* (circa 11th century), puts all these ideas in his *Varuṇapaddhati* and expresses epigrammatically that "*Dīkṣā* is that act by which the innate Śivahood is manifested along with the destruction of all the three types of bondages".[8] It is succinctly said in the text that initiation is characterised by "devotion [to Śiva] and non-attachment [towards worldly enjoyment]."[9] The *Kāraṇāgama* states that *dīkṣā* brings forth not only liberation (*mukti*) but it also bestows prosperity and removes all diseases.[10]

Now it becomes clear that *dīkṣā* has such a paramount importance in the doctrinal and ritual scheme of Śaivasidhānta system. It is of different types and it is the duty of the *ācārya* who performs the rite to decide which type of *dīkṣā* his disciple deserves, based on

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7 विषापहारं कुरुते ध्यानबीजबलैर्यथा।
कुरुते पाशविश्लेषं शिवत्वं व्यज्यते यया॥ क्रिया सा कथ्यते दीक्षा
(*Varuṇapaddhati*, 2)

8 सपाशत्रयविश्लेषं व्यज्यते यया ।
क्रिया सा कथ्यते दीक्षा
(*Varuṇapaddhati*, 2)

9 भक्तिवैराग्यलक्षणा ibid.
तस्मात् ज्ञानं च भक्तिश्च वैराग्यमिति चात्मनः।
दीक्षितस्येह चिह्नानि पशोस्त्वेतानि नाञ्जसा॥
(ibid., 3)

10 नराणां मोक्षसिद्ध्यर्थं सर्वपापहरं परम् ।
सर्वरोगविनाशार्थं धनधान्यसमृद्धिदम् ।

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the disciples behaviour, mental attitude, etc.,[11] and on the intensity of the fall of grace of Śiva, which is called *śaktipāta*.[12]

Importance of *dīkṣā*

All the *āgama*s and the successive *ācārya*s who had composed ritual manuals seem to be unanimous in holding that *dīkṣā* in one form or another is the prerequisite to attain liberation. For, as the *Ṣaṭsāhasrikā-gama* puts it, only after *dīkṣā* a person becomes qualified to undertake the religious practices such as worship of the *sandhyā*, worship of Śiva as prescribed in the *Śaivāgama*s, undertake the study of the *Śaivāgama*s and, if interested, undertake the practice of *yoga* as taught in the *Śaivāgama*s. The *Parākhyāgama* goes so far that *dīkṣā* is the only means to attain liberation and neither knowledge (*jñāna*) nor *yoga* nor ritual conduct (*caryā*) can bring about liberation.[13] According to the *Skandapurāṇa* seeking liberation without *dīkṣā* is comparable to the effort of a blind person to walk without the stick (*daṇḍa*) or to the effort of crossing the ocean without the aid of a boat. The *Acintyaviśvasādākhya* puts the greatness of *śaivadīkṣā* in such a way that even all the Vedic *saṃskāra*s prescibed in the *Smṛti* texts cannot bring forth liberation whereas the *dīkṣā* performed according to the *Śaivāgama*s, even done in a bad manner, will surely bring forth liberation.[14] The text defines *dīkṣā* as that which bestows supreme knowledge and supreme will.[15]

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[11] भक्तिश्च शिवभक्तेषु श्रद्धा तच्छासने विधौ।
अनेनानुमितिः शिष्टहेतोः स्थूलधियामपि। (*Mṛgendrāgama*, Vp, 5:5)

[12] येषां शरीरिणां शक्तिः पतत्यविनिवृत्तये।
तेषां तल्लीङ्गमौत्सुक्यं मुक्तौ द्वेषो भवस्थितौ॥(*Mṛgendrāgama*, Vp, 5:4)

[13] ज्ञानतो योगतश्चैव चर्यातश्च न मुच्यते ।
दीक्षया चात्र मुक्तिस्तु सर्वेषां प्राणिनामिह ।

[14] तस्माद्वैदिकमार्गेण मलनाशो न विद्यते ।
शैवागमोक्तमार्गेण दीक्षया मोक्ष एव हि ।

[15] दीयते ज्ञानसद्भावं क्षीयते च मलत्रयम्।
तथा दीक्षा समाख्याता इच्छाज्ञानप्रदायिका॥
(*Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, 8:3)

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The *Varuṇapaddhati*[16] very briefly and succinctly defines the types of *dīkṣā* and their special characteristics. There are different types of *dīkṣā*[17]:

Cākṣuṣīdīkṣā: That which is done through the eyes: Here the *ācārya* looks at the disciple intently in order to destroy his bondages after meditating on the form of Śiva.

Sparśadīkṣā: The *ācārya*, after placing the five *brahmamantra*s and the *aṅgamantra*s along with the *mūlamantra* on his right hand, touches the disciple from head to foot.

Vāgdīkṣā: The *ācārya* utters the *saṃhitā mantra*s after intensely meditating on his oneness with Śiva.

Mānasīdīkṣā: The *ācārya* performs all the external rites with the *kuṇḍa*, *maṇḍala*, etc., internally.

Śāstradīkṣā: The *ācārya* teaches the *Śaivāgama*s; this presupposes the *samayadīkṣā*, which is basic and the entrance, as it were, into the śaiva practices.

Yogadīkṣā: The *ācārya* instructs on the various limbs, such as the *dhāraṇā* of the *śaiva yoga* system;[18] this also presupposes the *samayadīkṣā*.

Another classification of the *dīkṣā* is twofold: *jñānavatī*, where all the rites are done mentally, and *kriyāvatī*, which consists in the elaborate performance of the rites externally. The latter is again divided into *nirbīja* and *sabīja*. For the category of disciples to be initiated such as *samayī* and *putraka*, the *nirbījā* type is done while for the *sādhaka* and the *ācārya*, the *sabījā* type is done. The basic difference between these two is that when one is initiated in the former type, he need

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[16] For the basic understanding of *dīkṣā* in the Śaivasiddhānta system, see Ganesan 2006.

[17] चाक्षुषी स्पर्शदीक्षा च वाचिकी मानसी तथा।
शास्त्री च योगदीक्षा च हौत्रीत्यादिरनेकधा॥ (*Varuṇapaddhati*, 15)

[18] For a better understanding of the *śaiva yoga* system one may profitably refer to Ganesan 2009a.

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not perform the obligatory daily rites, which are done by the initiating *ācārya* himself during the *dīkṣā*, whereas he who is initiated in the *sabījā* variety has to do all the obligatory rites regularly. Normally, the former is done for women, children, dumb, mentally retarded and for others afflicted by diseases. By *bīja* the rites and conducts of the *samaya* initiate (*samayācāra*) is meant. This, again, is divided into *Śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī*, and *sādhikārā* and *niradhikārā*, etc.

The foremost of all the *dīkṣā* according to Varuṇaśiva is the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, which mainly consists in the purification, for the disciple, of all the six *adhvans*: *mantra*, *varṇa*, *pada*, *tattva*, *bhuvana* and *kalā*. It mainly consists in invoking all the five *kalās*, *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti* and *śāntyatītā* in the thread called *pāśasūtra*, then removing all these one by one and thereby making the self free from all the three types of bondage and finally bestowing all the divine qualities of Śiva. The *mantra*s which are the five *brahmamantra*s, six *aṅgamantra*s and the *mūlamantra*, are pervaded by the eighty-one *pada*s of the *vyomavyāpimantra*, which in their turn are pervaded by the fifty-one letters; these letters are pervaded by the thirty-six *tattva*s, which are pervaded by more than two hundred worlds (*bhuvana*), which in their turn are pervaded by the five *kalās*—*nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti* and *śāntyatītā*.

Less known *dīkṣā*s

Jñānadīkṣā

This subject, though not treated in the ancient ritual manuals such as the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvali* (better known as *Somaśambhupaddhati*) (11th century), *Varuṇapaddhati* (12th century), *Kriyākramadyotikā* (12th century), is explained in a detailed fashion in such *āgama* texts as the *Rauravāgama*, PIFI 18.3, 58th *paṭala*), *Kāmikāgama* (*uttarabhāga*), *Suprabhedāgama*, *Sūkṣmāgama* and in the *Acintyaviśvasādākhya*. We find many differences in these texts in the treatment of *jñānadīkṣā*. While the *āgama*s referred to above treat the subject

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in a slightly elaborate way, the text *Jñānadīkṣottara* is very brief.[19] There is absolutely no reference to external elaborate rites in this text. This *jñānadīkṣā* is performed without much elaborate procedure of drawing *kuṇḍa* and *maṇḍala*. It is one of the variety of *hautrī dīkṣā*.[20] The entire ritual sequence of purification of the six *adhvans*—*mantra*, *pada*, *varṇa*, *tattva*, *bhuvana* and *kalā*—are done by the guru to the disciple mentally and through his yogic visualisation. In the same way he completely cuts asunder, again purely in a mental way, all the bondages of the disciple.

One may discern certain general features of *jñānadīkṣā* in all these texts.

It is generally performed only to those persons who have complete detachment from worldly affairs and are free from desires, who have fully renounced everything and are intensely desirous of liberation (*mokṣa*).

After the *dīkṣā* the disciple offers all his possessions—physical, material and life—at the feet of his guru and fully devotes himself for the study of *āgama*s (especially the portion dealing with doctrines), worship of Śiva and meditation.

After the *dīkṣā* the disciple is taught the *āgama*s, mainly those sections that deal with the doctrines, such as the discussion on the three ultimate realities of Śaivasiddhānta—*pati*, *paśu* and *pāśa*. For, in the present text under study we have a section called *dīkṣottara* that briefly discusses the three ultimate realities (*tripadārtha*), the evolution of the *tattva*s, etc. In the same way, in the 58th *paṭala* of the *Rauravāgama*, that deals with the *jñānadīkṣā*, we have the passage, " शिवज्ञानबोधशास्त्रं दद्यात् पत्यादिचिन्तनम् । 58: 35ab, while the *Kāmikāgama* (*uttara*)[21] and the *Sūkṣmāgama*[22] prescribe the teaching of the concept of *daśakārya*,

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[19] Ref. Ganesan and Satyanarayanan 2009.

[20] ज्ञानवती भवत्येका क्रियावत्यपरा स्मृता।
विनेज्यानलकर्मादिमनोव्यापारमात्रतः॥
दीक्षा ज्ञानवती प्रोक्ता सम्यक्तत्त्वावबोधजा।
(*Rauravāgama*, *Kriyāpāda*, *paṭala* 47, verse 22–23b)

[21] *Kāmikāgama* (*uttara*). IFP T. 298 (II): 201–202.

[22] *Sūkṣmāgama*. IFP T. 112: 554.

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which, again, is concerned with the proper understanding and meditation of all the *tattva*s, the self and Śiva.

This clearly shows that the disciple after *jñānadīkṣā* becomes fully qualified for the study and discussion about the doctrinal sections of the *āgama*s and we may say that it is his foremost duty to do so and devote his life for this till the end of his days.

The concept of *jñānadīkṣā* seems to be referred to in other schools of Śaivism, such as the *trika* system. For, in the *Tantrāloka*, 28: 288 the *jñānadīkṣā* is mentioned.

2. *Yogadīkṣā*[23]

At the outset it is stated that this *dīkṣā* confers union with Śiva, destroys all unreal existents and illumines the existent. It is called *sahamārga*.[24] He who has an intense longing for attaining Śiva should be given this *dīkṣā*.[25] All the preliminary rites such as drawing and worshipping the *maṇḍala*, worship of the *maṇḍapa*, *agnikārya*, etc. are to be done as before. Vāgīśvara and Vāgīśvarī are then worshipped followed by

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[23] This brief summary is based on the chapter *Yogadīkṣāvidhi* of the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, which, again, is so far unpublished. Ref. T. Ganesan: The *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, critical edition of the text for the first time with a detailed summary and elaborate notes (forthcoming).

[24] असद्भावक्षयकरं ज्ञानसद्भावभावकम् ।
शिवतत्त्वेति संयोगो योगदीक्षेति कथ्यते ।
(*Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, chapter 26 (*Yogadīkṣāvidhi*), 2cd-3ab)

It is also to be noted that the Cintyaviśva interprets the word *yoga* as derived from the verbal root '*yujir*' meaning union, which is nothing but the union with Śiva. The same interpretation is followed by Aghoraśiva in his commentary on the *yogapāda* of the *Sarvajñānottarāgama*.

That the path of *Śivayoga* is the *sahamārga* is very much known in the tradition of *Śivajñānabodha* in the Tamil country and many texts such as the *Civañāṉacittiyār* explain this path.

[25] अत्यन्तशिवसम्प्राप्तिवाञ्छायुक्तमलोलुपम् ।
एवंविधगुणैर्युक्तं दीक्षयेच्छिष्यमुत्तमम् ॥
(*Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, chapter 26 (*Yogadīkṣāvidhi*), 4cd-5ab)

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the performance of sacraments such as the *garbhādhāna* for the disciple's self. Ten *nāḍī*s beginning from *iḍā* and ending with *śaṅkhinī* and fourteen *prāṇa*s beginning from *prāṇa* and ending with *prapañcaka* are visualised. Among the ten *nāḍī*s, three are most important and, among the three, the *suṣumnā* is the most important, inside which runs the *brahmanāḍī*, that has its course from the *mūlādhāra* at the base of the spinal column and up to the *brahmarandhra* at the top. On its path lie nine centres (*ādhāra*) beginning from the anus (*guda*) and ending with the *brahmarandhra*. The *mūlādhāra* of the form of a four-petalled lotus is visualised and in this way all the centres and the *kāraṇeśvara*s such as Brahmā, three *śaktis—icchā, jñāna* and *kriyā, sūrya, soma* and *agni*, etc. are also visualised. At the centre of the *icchāśakti*, Śiva, who is of the form of bliss, is visualised and the entire body of the disciple is visualised to be drenched by that nectar flowing from there. Each of the centres, beginning from the *mūlādhāra*, is visualised along with the form of the *mantra*, which is also visualised to be a brilliant flame. Five cords beginning from *śikhā*, whose names are *bindukānta, hṛdānta, nābhyanta, viṣṇudehaka* and *brahmadeśagata*, are placed where the *tattva*s are laid. *Prokṣaṇa, tāḍana*, etc. are done with the *astramantra*. Through *recaka* the *ācārya* enters the self of the disciple and leads it up to *ajapā*. The self of the disciple is dragged and kept within that of the *ācārya* and the sacramentary rites such as the *garbhādhāna* are performed. After discharging Vāgīśvara and Vāgīśvarī, Brahmā is invoked and worshipped. *Nyāsa* of the twenty *tattva*s is done with oblation for each and Brahmā is offered the *brahmaśulka* (an offering ?). The cord from the face (*mukhasūtra*) is removed and offered as oblation. Then Viṣṇu is invoked as before and all the rites are done again with a prayer that Viṣṇu be propitious to the disciple. The *hṛdantasūtra* is then removed and offered as oblation. Rudra is invoked in the *nābhisūtra* and the rites are repeated. In all these cords the *tattva*s such as *niyati, kāla*, etc. are also invoked. In this way Sadāśiva is worshipped. The self of the disciple is now visualised to be pure effulgence. Reciting the *praṇavamantra* along with the *haṃsamantra* it is united in the *mūlādhāra*. All the centres

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beginning from *mūlādhāra* up to *dvādaśānta* are touched with the tip of the *darbha* grass reciting the same *mantra*. *Abhiṣeka* is performed to the disciple and he is asked to visualise himself to be Śiva (*śivo 'ham*) and he is given the *yoga* cloth (*yogapaṭṭa*) that is thrown over the back and the knees during meditation and other objects.

3. *Vijñānadīkṣā*

This *dīkṣā*, again, appears to be unique to the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*. Though the text of this chapter is not free from ambiguities, we can fairly have an overall idea of the rite. Generally different forms of rites in varying degrees are found to make up the *dīkṣā*. Accordingly we have *kriyāvatī*, *hautrī*, *śaḍadhvaśodhanī*, etc. as noted above which consist of many rituals. But in contrast to the *yogadīkṣā* (as briefly explained above) and other forms of *dīkṣā*s in the *vijñānadīkṣā*, we do not have any external rite at all. The entire process is completely executed mentally by the *ācārya*. We also note here that the rôle played by the disciple (*śiṣya*) is nothing but sitting quiet before the *ācārya* without external physical act whatsoever. By the various visualisations and mental acts including offering of oblations that the *ācārya* is obliged to perform, the *vijñānadīkṣā* expects a very high order of mental developments, highly developed capacity for visualisation and a strong willed alertness on the part of the *ācārya*.

Summary of the chapter

The chapter commences with a very brief definition of the *vijñānadīkṣā*: It is a *dīkṣā* which is accompanied by special knowledge (*vijñāna*); it is the best of all *dīkṣā*s as it presupposes special knowledge [on the part of the disciple?], appears to be special (*vicitra*) and which gives rise to awakened knowledge (*vijṛmbhaṇa*) (v.1–2ab). (Also note the verse 58cd). Further, this *dīkṣā* is very pure among others, where there is no *mantra*, ritual acts and meditations (2cd–3ab). It is also called *vijñānadīkṣā* because due to this the Śivahood [of the disciple] [is manifested] and all his doubts are destroyed (3cd–4ab).

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Qualifications of a disciple

The disciple should possess staunch devotion (*atyantabhakti*), he should exhibit horripilation and tears of joy (*ānandāśru*) just by seeing his guru, always ready to hear with an intense desire [the utterances of guru], ever ready to do any service to his guru, be free from any desire, he should be ready to execute the orders of his guru irrespective of they being either agreeable or otherwise, he should not have any independence regarding his body like a lump of clay at the hands of a potter (*kaulālikamṛdādivat*), if commanded by his guru he should be ready to jump into the ocean or in the river Gaṅgā or to encounter even a tiger or a poisonous snake without any afterthought, he should feel that all his possessions have been thrown in the ocean, he should be an adept in doing all his guru's jobs and should always be engaged himself in his service, he should submit all his wealth and possessions before his guru and be ready to obey his orders, if he is happy he should renounce his mother, father, brother, wife and sons and if commanded by his guru, he should be ready to take back those that are abandoned without any thought (4cd–12ab).

The guru should give *dīkṣā* to such a disciple with compassion. And, that *dīkṣā* is done purely based on mental functions (*manovyāpāramātreṇa*) and which is called *vijñānadīkṣā* (12cd–13). It is done in a pleasing and auspicious site and when the mental states [of both the guru and the disciple?] are in equilibrium of happiness and misery, in which case only the *dīkṣā* becomes effective in annihilating all the miseries of transmigration (14–15ab). The *gurumaṇḍala* is the highest and Śiva resides on top of it. Guru invokes Him by the *mantra*s and *nyāsa*, etc. All the holy *tīrtha*s reside in the palm of the guru; that at the base of the finger is considered to be *brāhma*, that at the tip of the hand is of the gods and men (?), that at the finger joints is for the gods and sages, that at the small finger is for the men and sages, at the end of the hand is for the *bhūta*s and that at the space between the thumb and index fingers is the one for the manes. Guru should

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visualise that all the seven holy waters reside in his hand; his right hand is pervaded by *śivamantra* and the left hand by *śaktimantra*.

The disciple is decorated (?) with sandal paste, flower, incense, etc. and is made to sit in the *sukhāsana* pose fixing his gaze on the guru. The guru visualises the fire kindled in the *mūlādhāra*, he visualises the moon-like nectar as the ghee at the *ājñā* centre, his mind as the *sruk*, intellect as *sruva* and the *kalā*s as the *samit* [to be offered in the fire]. By stretching his hands he visualises the *iḍā* as moon and *piṅgalā* as the sun. He purifies the ghee [of moon-like nectar] by the *darbha* grass of *nāda*, recites the *tāramantra* (which is the *praṇavamantra*) and performs the oblations of knowledge (*jñānāhuti*). The guru performs all these oblations mentally reciting the *mantra*s of the five *brahma*s (*pañcabrahma*), such as the *Īśāna*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Vāmadeva* and *Sadyojāta*, combining the *mantra*s in various orders; he does the oblations at the *mūlādhāra* through the *piṅgalānāḍī* and then through *iḍānāḍī*. Finally, oblations with the *aṅgamantra* and *vāgīśvarīmantra* are performed, and the final oblation is done with the *prāsādamantra*.

After the oblations the guru takes the self of the disciple and makes it united in the *mūlādhāra*; from there it is taken to the *gurumaṇḍala* brimming with supreme bliss through the *brahmanāḍī*. After visualising the self of the disciple as Śiva, it is once again joined in the *mūlādhāra*. Then oblations are again done [mentally] for all the worlds from *tala* to *satyaloka*, for all the *tattva*s from *māyā* to *bhūmi* [*pṛthivī*], for all the letters from '*a*' to '*kṣa*' in the reverse order, for the 96 plus 4 *pada*s from *bhava* [that form part of the *vyomavyāpipadamantra*] and for the *kalā*s beginning from *nivṛtti*. After the final oblations the guru, visualising his eyes as made of Śiva and Śakti, gazes at the body of the disciple, takes the self of the disciple and visualises it to have been joined with Śiva at the *gurumaṇḍala*. Then, after reuniting [the self] of the disciple with his body, he visualises him to be of the form of Śiva.

Then the guru visualises all the six *adhvan*s to be resolved unto Śiva in the reverse order (*saṃhārakrama*) and he visualises the highest Śiva-state which is beyond speech, unfathomable, bereft of any similarity, unnamable, without beginning and end, and which exists

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as completely isolated (*kaivalya*). Then the guru hugs the disciple closely and smells his head as a mark of love. The disciple definitely experiences bliss at that time and also experiences shaking of his body, sweat, horripilation as well as rising of *śivajñāna* in himself. No doubt the disciple is Śiva himself at that time. The guru wears flowers on his head and offers it to the disciple and also performs bath by his own hands.

The chapter concludes with a question: If there is no *vijñānadīkṣā*, how can there be liberation and Śivahood ?

Conclusion

So far we have seen briefly the rite of *vijñānadīkṣā* as explained in one of the chapters of the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*. It fully appears to be a mental act and the guru is expected to perform it with so much mental concentration and visualisations. The disciple is expected to possess an intense devotion to his guru and absolute renunciation of all worldly possessions. Thus both the guru and the disciple are expected to be of high order in their spiritual developments and devotion.

Sources

All four paper transcripts belong to the collections of the French Institute, Pondicherry.

T. 7A This is a Devanagari paper transcript of a paper manuscript in Grantha script belonging to a private collection. It has 798 pages. It starts with the first *paṭala*, which is *Tantrāvatārapaṭala*, and ends with the *Bhaktapūjanapaṭala*, the 36th *paṭala*.

T. 7B has the rest of the *paṭalas* ending with the *prāyaścittavidhi*, which is incomplete.

T. 8 This is a Devanagari paper transcript of a Grantha manuscript belonging to M. K. S. Bhattar, Madurai. It begins with the *Tantrāvatārapaṭala* and ends with the *Samayalakṣaṇam*. This paper transcript has the least number of *paṭalas*, only 38, among the available IFP paper transcripts.

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T. 100 This is a Devanagari paper transcript copied from a manuscript No. R 13920 belonging to the Adyar Library, Chennai. It begins with the *Tantrāvatārapaṭala* and ends with the *Prāyaścittavidhi*.

T. 152 This is a Devanagari paper transcript copied from a manuscript belonging to the GOML, Chennai No. R16787. This contains chapters from the *Tantrāvatārapaṭala* to the *Prāyaścittavidhi*. There are more lacunae in some chapters in this transcript.

The three transcripts—7, 100 and 152—though coming from different regions contain almost the same number of *paṭala*s, with the same subjects and mostly in the same order. Interestingly, all of them end abruptly in the middle of the chapter on *Prāyaścitta*.

Generally, in the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*, we find more chapters on *yoga*. In the very first *paṭala* itself we observe that more emphasis is laid on the *sanmārga* and *sahamārga*—which are explained as the paths of knowledge and *yoga* respectively. But the text hastens to add that all the four *pāda*s—*jñāna*, *yoga*, *kriyā* and *caryā*—should be fully practised to attain both the enjoyments (in this and various other worlds) as well as *mokṣa*. As noted earlier, there are also a few chapters on different types of *dīkṣā*, such as the *karmadīkṣā*, *karmanirvāṇadīkṣā*, *tritattvakarmadīkṣā*, *yogadīkṣā* and *vijñānadīkṣā*, which appear to be special to this *āgama* alone.

The *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama* has been extensively utilized by the medieval *Śaivāgama* compilers and commentators. We see in the *Dīkṣādarśa* (a voluminous compilation of *Śaivāgama* passages dealing with every aspect of *śaiva dīkṣā*) and in the *Ātmārthapūjā-paddhati* (another voluminous compilation of *Śaivāgama* passages dealing with every aspect of daily worship of Śiva by the initiated), both from the pen of one of the most prolific Śaiva writers and compilers of the medieval period, Nigamajñānadeśika, large chunks of passages have been incorporated from the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama*. Most of them are on the various aspects of *kriyā*—rituals: such as cleaning the teeth, various types of daily bath (*snāna*), and many intricate rites pertaining to different types of initiation (*dīkṣā*), etc.

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In the voluminous commentary composed by Nirmalamaṇi (circa 16th century) on one of the most important and authoritative Śaiva-siddhānta ritual manuals, namely, *Kriyākramadyotikā* of Aghoraśiva (circa 12th century), we find many passages from the *Acintyaviśva-sādākhyāgama* cited as an authority.

From the sheer quantity of passages chosen from this *āgama* in these compendiums and commentaries, it is very clear that the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama* was considered in the medieval period to be one of the fundamental sources and important authorities on every aspect of Śaivasiddhānta ritual system.

॥अचिन्त्यविश्वसादाख्यागमः॥
॥एकोनचत्वारिंशः पटलः॥
॥विज्ञानदीक्षाविधिः॥

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि दीक्षां विज्ञानसंयुताम् ।
विशेषज्ञानपूर्वत्वात् विचित्रत्वाद्[26] विजृम्भणात् ॥१॥
विज्ञानदीक्षा सा प्रोक्ता दीक्षाणामुत्तमोत्तमा ।
मन्त्रहीनक्रियाहीनध्यानहीनादिदीक्षिते[27] ॥२॥
परिपूर्णत्वसिद्धत्वात्[28] दीक्षाणां तु पवित्रिणी ।
दीक्षया तच्छिवत्वं[29] हि क्षीयते[30] सर्वसंशयः ॥३॥
एवं विशिष्टरूपत्वात् विज्ञानाख्येति कीर्तिता[31] ।
अत्यन्तभक्तिसंयुक्तं[32] गुरुदर्शनमात्रतः ॥४॥

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[26] विचित्रत्वाद्] अ,आ,ई; विचित्तत्वाद्-इ

[27] मन्त्रहीनक्रियाहीनध्यानहीनादिदीक्षिते] अ,इ,ई; मन्त्रहीनं क्रियाहीनं ध्यान-हीनादिदीक्षिते-आ

[28] परिपूर्णत्वसिद्धत्वात्] अ,इ; परिपूर्णत्वसिद्ध्यत्वात्-आ;परिपूर्णं च दीक्षित्वात्-ई

[29] दीक्षया तच्छिवत्वं] आ;दीक्षायतच्छिवत्वं-अ; दीक्षा यतः शिवत्वं-इ;दीक्षये तच्छिवत्वं-ई

[30] क्षीयते] अ,आ,इ; दीक्षयेत्-ई

[31] कीर्तिता] इ,ई;कीर्तितः-अ,आ

[32] अत्यन्तभक्तिसंयुक्तं] अ,ई; अव्यक्तं भक्तिसंयुक्तं-आ;अत्यन्तभक्तिसंयुक्तो-इ

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रोमाञ्चितशरीरं[33] च आनन्दाश्रुविलोचनम् ।
सर्वदा श्रवणोत्कण्ठं सर्वदा श्रवणोत्सुकम्[34] ॥५॥
सर्वदा[35] गुरुशुश्रूषावाञ्छायुक्तमलोलुपम् ।
आज्ञापालनसंयुक्तं सुखं वा दुःखमेव वा ॥६॥
अस्वातन्त्र्यं च तद्देहे कौलालिकमृदादिवत् ।
समुद्रपतने चैव जाह्नव्यां पतनेऽपि वा ॥७॥
व्याघ्रसर्पादिपतनेऽप्याज्ञा चेद् अविचारिणम्[36] ।
सर्वस्वं जलधौ क्षिप्तं[37] इति चेतनभावितम्[38] ॥८॥
तत्कार्ये तु प्रवीणत्वं कर्तव्येऽतिरतं[39] सदा ।
भूमौ निक्षिप्य वित्तादीननुवाज्ञानमार्गणम्[40] ॥९॥
मातरं पितरं पुत्रं भ्रातॄन् जायामशेषतः ।
विसर्जने चेत्तच्चित्तं[41] तद्विसर्जनवल्लभम् ॥१०॥
विसर्जितानां[42] सर्वेषां स्वीकारं गुरुणोदितम् ।
तत्राविचार्य दक्षं तम्[43] एवमादिषु सर्वदा ॥११॥
पूर्वोक्तदीक्षासंयुक्तं शिष्यं विज्ञानदीक्षया।
दीक्षयेत् कृपया पूर्णो गुरुः सन्मार्गदायकः[44] ॥१२॥
मनोव्यापारमात्रेण या दीक्षा[45] विद्यते क्रमात् ।
सा दीक्षा ज्ञानदीक्षा तु विज्ञानाख्या च वै भवेत् ॥१३॥
मनोरम्ये शुभे[46] देशे मनोरम्ये तु कालके ।

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[33] रोमाञ्चितशरीरं] अ,आ,इ; रोमाञ्चनं शरीरं-ई
[34] श्रवणोत्सुकम्] इ,ई;श्रवणोन्मुखम्-अ; श्रवणोत्सुखम्-आ
[35] सर्वदा] अ,आ,इ; सर्वथा-ई
[36] अविचारिणम्] इ,ई;अविचारणः-अ;अविचारतः-आ
[37] क्षिप्तं] अ,आ,इ; क्षिप्य-ई
[38] चेतनभावितम्] आ;चेत्तेन भावितम्-अ,इ;भक्तमन्तेन भावितम्-ई
[39] कर्तव्येऽतिरतं] ई;कर्तव्यानितरां-अ; कर्तव्या नितरां-आ;कर्तव्यो नितरां-इ
[40] वित्तादीननुवाज्ञानमार्गणम्-अ; वित्तादीन् अन्यवीत् ज्ञानमार्गणम्-आ;वित्तादीन् अनुयाज्ञानमार्गणम्-इ;वित्तादीन् अन्नगादिषु मार्गणम्-ई
[41] चेत्तच्चित्तं] अ,ई; चेत्तद्वित्तं-आ,इ
[42] विसर्जितानां] आ,इ,ई;विवर्जितानां-अ
[43] दक्षं तम्] इ,ई;दीक्षान्तम्-अ,आ
[44] सन्मार्गदायकः] आ,ई;सन्मार्गनायकः-अ;. . . . गदायकः-इ
[45] या दीक्षा] आ,इ,ई;दीक्षया-अ
[46] शुभे] अ,आ,इ;सुखे-ई

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मनोरम्यास्ववस्थासु उभयोः सुखसाम्ययोः॥१४॥
तदानीमेव सा दीक्षा सर्वसंसारनाशिनी ।
पञ्चाधारस्थितश्चापि गुरुदेहे व्यवस्थितः[47] ॥१५॥
शिरोर्ध्वे मण्डले[48] चैव गुरुमण्डलमुत्तमम् ।
सर्वसाक्षिमयं तं तु[49] शिवं परमकारणम्[50] ॥१६॥
पश्चाद्गुरुप्रसादेन[51] मन्त्रन्यासादिपूर्वकम्[52] ।
गुरोः पाणितले चैव स्थितं सकलतीर्थकम् ॥१७॥
अंगुष्ठमूले ब्राह्मं[53] हि कराग्रे देवमन्त्रयोः ।
देवर्षिभिस्तु[54] संसेव्यम् अङ्गुलीपर्वसन्धिजम् ॥१८॥
मनुष्याणामृषीणां च कनिष्ठामूलतीर्थकम् ।
हस्तमूले तु भूतानां[55] तीर्थमित्यभिधीयते ॥१९॥
तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठयोर्मध्ये पितृतीर्थं व्यवस्थितम्[56] ।
सप्ततीर्थं च तद्धस्ते विद्यमानं विभावयेत् ॥२०॥
बिन्दुरूपाणि तीर्थानि भावयित्वा विचक्षणः ।
तस्य दक्षिणहस्तं तु[57] शिवमन्त्रेण व्यापितम् ॥२१॥
वामं तु शक्तिमन्त्रेण व्यापितं भावयेद्गुरुः[58] ।
गन्धैः पुष्पैश्च धूपैश्च दीपैः शिष्यं च कारयेत् ॥२२॥
सुखासने समावेश्य[59] तद्दृष्टिगतमानसः ।
एवंविधो भवेच्छिष्यो भवेद्गुरुरनन्तरम् ॥२३॥
मूलाधाराग्निकुण्डोत्थं[60] शिवाग्निं भावयेत्तदा।

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47 गुरुदेहे व्यवस्थितः] अ,आ,ई; गुरुदेहव्यवस्थितः-इ
48 शिरोर्ध्वे मण्डले] ई;गुरूर्ध्वे मण्डले-इ;गुर्वध्वमण्डले-अ,आ
49 तं तु] आ,इ,ई;ततु-अ
50 परमकारणम्] अ,इ,ई; परमका . . . .-आ
51 पश्चाद्गुरुप्रसादेन] अ,इ,ई; . . . . प्रसादेन-आ
52 मन्त्रन्यासादिपूर्वकम्] इ;मन्त्रन्यासादि पूर्ववत्-अ,आ,ई
53 ब्राह्मं] आ,इ,ई;ब्राह्मं-अ; ब्राह्मं-आ,इ,ई
54 देवर्षिभिस्तु] अ,इ;देव षड़िभस्तु-आ;देवर्षिस्तु-ई
55 भूतानां] अ,इ;तीर्थानां-आ,ई
56 तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठयोर्मध्ये पितृतीर्थं व्यवस्थितम्] अ,इ,ई; मध्ये . . . . -आ
57 दक्षिणहस्तं तु-em. दक्षिणहस्तेन-अ,आ,इ,ई
58 भावयेद्गुरुः] अ,आ,ई; भावयेत्-इ
59 सुखासने समावेश्य] अ,इ,ई; . . . . -आ
60 मूलाधाराग्निकुण्डोत्थं] अ,आ;मूलाधारेऽग्निकुण्डोत्थं-इ,ई

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आज्ञाधारे[61] च सर्पींषि चन्द्रमण्डलभां[62] सुधाम् ॥२४॥
शिवमण्डलके चैवं[63] सुवाग्निं स्थाप्य देशिकः ।
मनःसुक् बुद्धिसुवं च समिधश्च कलास्तथा[64] ॥२५॥
मूलकुण्डलिना[65] बाहुलतामुद्यम्य चोर्ध्वतः ।
इडां च पिङ्गलां चापि सोमं सूर्यं[66] च भावयेत् ॥२६॥
नादस्वरूपदर्भेण चाज्यशुद्धिं विधाय च ।
पूर्वमेवाग्निसिद्धत्वाद् विना चाग्निमुखं तथा॥२७॥
तारशतं जपित्वान्ते[67] शिवं चाप्यन्यसंपुटम् ।
पुष्पान्तं मन्त्रमेवं स्यात् ज्ञानाहुतीरनुत्तमाः[68] ॥२८॥
ओं हं सं सें सूर्यः सोहमीशानतत्पुरुषाभ्याम्[69]
सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा। ओं ह्रीं हं सः ओं ॥२९॥
पिङ्गलानाडिमार्गेण मूलाधारे च होमयेत् ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः ओं हां ईश्वरमयःसोऽहं हौं स्वाहा[70] ॥३०॥
इडया च हुनेत् पश्चान्मूलाधारे च होमयेत् ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः[71] सूर्यसोमाग्निः[72] सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा।३१॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः हुं अघोरः सोऽहं[73] हुं स्वाहा[74] ।

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[61] आज्ञाधारे] ई;आज्ञाध्वाने-अ; आज्ञाध्याने-आ;आज्ञार्धाने-इ

[62] चन्द्रमण्डलभां] आ,ई;चन्द्रमण्डलगां-अ,इ

[63] चैवं] ई;चैव-अ,आ,इ

[64] बुद्धिसुवं च समिधश्च] कलास्तथा] अ,इ;बुद्धिसृप . . . . –आ; बुद्धिसुवं चापि समिधश्च कलास्तथा -ई

[65] मूलकुण्डलिना अ,आ,इ; मूलकुण्डलिनि-ई

[66] सोमं सूर्यं] आ;सोमसूर्यं-अ,ई;सोमसूर्या. . . . -इ

[67] तारशतं जपित्वान्ते] em.;तारशक्यं जपित्वान्ते-अ;तारशतयन्धवित्वायै-आ; . . . . –इ;तारशक्यजपा चैव-ई

[68] ज्ञानाहुतीरनुत्तमाः] अ,आ; ज्ञानाहुतिरनुत्तमा-इ,ई

[69] ओं हं सं सें सूर्यः सोहमीशानतत्पुरुषाभ्याम् सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा] अ,इ; ओं हं सं से . . . .तत्पुरुषाभ्यां सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा–आ;ओं हं हैं सं हां रं मं ठं मय सोऽहं हं स्वाहा-ई

[70] This half-verse is not found in "इ" manuscript.

[71] ह्रीं हं सः] अ,आ; ह्रीं हं समह ईं-इ; ह्रीं हं सह-ई

[72] सूर्यसोमाग्निः] अ; रं सूर्यसोमाग्निः-आ;सूर्यसोमाग्नि सः-इ; रं रं सूर्यसोमाग्निश्यः-ई

[73] हुं अघोरः सोऽहं] अ,आ; . . . . –इ;हुं अघोराय-ई

[74] हुं स्वाहा] अ; . . . . –आ;हं हौं स्वाहा-इ;हौं स्वाहा-ई

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ओं ह्रीं हं सः तत्पुरुषाभ्यां सोऽहं स्वाहा ॥३२॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः हिं[75] वामदेवः सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा[76] ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः[77] अघोरवामदेवाभ्यां सोऽहं हौं[78] स्वाहा ॥३३॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः सं सद्योजाताय सोऽहं हौं[79] स्वाहा ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः वामदेवसद्योजाताभ्यां सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा[80] ॥३४॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः शान्तिकलायै सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा[81] ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः सद्योजातवामदेवाघोरतत्पुरुषेशानेभ्यः स्वाहा[82] ।३५॥
एवं विधैश्च मन्त्रैस्तु एकीकृत्य तु होमयेत् ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा[83] ॥३६॥
अनेनैव तु मन्त्रेण तृप्त्यन्तं होममाचरेत् ।
दशांशमङ्गमन्त्रेण होमयेन्नन्दिकेश्वर ॥३७॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः निवृत्तिकलायै सोऽहं हैं स्वाहा[84] ।
ओं हौं सोऽहं हैं स्वाहा । प्रतिष्ठाकलायै सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा ॥३८॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः विद्याकलायै सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः शान्तिकलायै सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा[85] ॥३९॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः शान्त्यतीतकलायै सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा ।
वागीश्वर्यास्तु बीजैश्च होमयेन्नन्दिकेश्वर ॥४०॥
प्रासादेन तु मन्त्रेण पूर्णाहुतिमथाचरेत् ।
शिष्यचैतन्यमाकृष्य मूलाधारे च योजयेत् ॥४१॥

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[75] हं सः हिं] अ;हं सं दहिं-आ,इ;वद हिं-ई

[76] वामदेवः सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा] अ,आ,इ; वामदेवाय सोऽहं स्वाहा-ई

[77] सः] अ;षट्-आ;सद-इ,ई

[78] सोऽहं हौं] ई;सौं हौं-अ;हं-आ

[79] हौं] ई;सौं-अ, आ,इ

[80] This half-verse is found only in "ई" manuscript and it seems to be essential here.

[81] This half-verse is not found in 'ई' manuscript.

[82] ओं ह्रीं हं सः सद्योजातवामदेवाघोरतत्पुरुषेशानेभ्यः स्वाहा] अ,आ,ई; सद्योजातवामदेवाघोरतत्पुरुषेशानेभ्यः स्वाहा-इ

[83] This passage एवं विधैश्च मन्त्रैस्तु . . . सोऽहं हौं स्वाहा is not found in 'आ' manuscript.

[84] निवृत्तिकलायै सोऽहं हैं स्वाहा] अ,आ,ई; निवृत्तिकला. . . . हैं स्वाहा -इ

[85] ओं ह्रीं हं सः शान्तिकलायै सोहं हौं स्वाहा This half-verse is not found in 'आ' manuscript.

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तस्मात् प्रदेशादाकृष्य ब्रह्मनाड्यन्तरात्[86] पुनः ।
गुरुमण्डलमध्ये च सदानन्दामृतोज्ज्वले ॥४२॥
शिष्यात्मानं च संयोज्य क्रमात् सन्मार्गदायकः[87] ।
शिवरूपमिदं ध्यात्वा पुनर्मूले च योजयेत् ॥४३॥
तलादिसत्यलोकान्तं[88] भुवनानि च[89] होमयेत् ।
मायादिभूमिपर्यन्तं एकत्रिंशच्च तत्त्वकम् ॥४४॥
अकारादिक्षकारान्तम् अक्षराणां च होमयेत्[90] ।
विलोमेन च तत्सर्वं प्रत्येकं होममाचरेत् ॥४५॥
भवादिप्रणवान्तं[91] च चतुष्षण्णवतीपदम् ।
ओं ह्रीं हं सः भवः सोऽहं हौं[92] स्वाहा ॥४६॥
ओं ह्रीं हं सः भवोद्भवः सोऽहं हौं[93] स्वाहा ।
इत्येवमादिहोमं च मनसा जुहुयाद्गुरुः ॥४७॥
निवृत्यादिकलाश्चैवं[94] होमयेन्नन्दिकेश्वर ।
पूर्णाहुतीः शिवेनैव होमयेच्छिवभाविताः[95] ॥४८॥
नेत्रत्रयं गुरुः साक्षात् कृपानन्दोज्ज्वलाकृतिः ।
शिवशक्त्यात्मकं[96] बुध्वा शिष्यदेहं निरीक्षयेत् ॥४९॥
सन्ततं शिवयागार्थम् अजपामन्त्रसंज्ञितम्[97] ।
चन्द्रार्कनाशनं चापि सततं योगवर्धनम् ॥५०॥
जाग्रतः स्वप्नतश्चैव[98] तिष्ठतश्च गमागमे ।
सन्ततं शिवयागश्च[99] नित्यं तिष्ठति तिष्ठति ॥५१॥

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[86] ब्रह्मनाड्यन्तरात्] ई;ब्रह्मणाघ्र्यं तरेत्-अ, आ,इ
[87] सन्मार्गदायकः] अ,आ,इ; सन्मार्गनायकः-ई
[88] तलादिसत्यलोकान्तं] आ,ई;तलादिसर्वलोकान्तं-अ;तलादिसत्य . . . . -इ
[89] भुवनानि च] em.;शिवनामानि-अ,आ,इ; भुवनानि-ई
[90] होमयेत्] ई;होमकम्-अ,आ,इ
[91] भवादिप्रणवान्तं] अ,आ,इ; वामादिप्रणवान्तं-ई
[92] हौं] अ,आ,इ;हों-ई
[93] हौं] अ,आ,इ; हों-ई
[94] निवृत्यादिकलाश्चैवं] आ,इ,ई;निवृत्यादिकलाश्चैव-अ
[95] होमयेच्छिवभाविताः] अ,आ,ई; होमयेच्छिवभावितम्-इ
[96] शिवशक्त्यात्मकं] अ,इ,ई; शिवभक्त्यात्मकं-आ
[97] अजपामन्त्रसंज्ञितम्] अ,आ,इ; जपान्मन्त्रं स संस्मृतम्-ई
[98] स्वप्नतश्चैव] ई;स्वपतो-अ,इ; स्वप्नतो-आ
[99] शिवयागश्च] ई;शिवयागं च-अ,आ,इ

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शिष्यचैतन्यमादाय गुरुमण्डलमध्यमे ।
संयोज्य तत्र संलीनं शिवं शिष्यं[100] च भावयेत् ॥५२॥
शिष्यदेहे च संयोज्य शिवमूर्तिं[101] च भावयेत् ।
संहारक्रममारभ्य षडध्वानो विशेषतः ॥५३॥
सर्वं शिवे निलीनं च[102] कुर्यात् सन्मार्गनायकः ।
वाच्यवाचकशून्यं तु मनोवाचामगोचरम् ॥५४॥
अप्रमेयमसादृश्यमप्रपञ्चमलक्षणम्[103] ।
आद्यन्तशून्यं कैवल्यम् असंज्ञकमनन्तकम्[104] ॥५५॥
परात्परं मृत्युमानं[105] द्वैताद्वैतविवर्जितम् ।
एवं ध्यात्वा महाज्ञानी शिष्यमालिङ्ग्य निर्भरम् ॥५६॥
तन्मूर्ध्न्याघ्राय[106] तत्काले[107] अखण्डितवपुः स्मरेत् ।
आनन्दस्तस्य तत्रैव जायते च न संशयः ॥५७॥
कम्पः स्वेदश्च पुलकः सर्वज्ञानस्य चोदयः ।
संपद्यते च तत्रैव शिवरूपीव शिष्यकः[108] ॥५८॥
पुष्पमाल्यं च तत्रैव स्वमूर्ध्न्याधाय[109] निक्षिपेत् ।
हस्ताभ्यामभिषेकं च कुर्यात् सन्मार्गदायकः[110] ॥५९॥
विज्ञानदीक्षाहीनश्चेत् कुतो मोक्षः कुतः शिवः ॥
॥ इत्यचिन्त्यविश्वसादाख्ये विज्ञानदीक्षाविधिरेकोनचत्वारिंशः पटलः ॥

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[100] शिष्यं] अ; शिष्ये-आ; . . . .-इ;शिवमन्त्रं-ई

[101] शिवमूर्तिं] अ,इ,ई; शिवमुक्तिं-आ

[102] शिवे निलीनं च] ई;शिवेति लीनं च-अ,इ; शिवेति लीनं तु-आ

[103] अप्रमेयमसादृश्यमप्रपञ्चमलक्षणम्] इ;अप्रमेयमसादिभ्यमप्रपञ्चमलक्षणम्-अ; अप्रमेयमसादिभ्य अप्रपञ्चमलक्षणम्-आ;अप्रमेयमसादृश्यमप्रसन्नमलक्षणम्-ई

[104] असंज्ञकमनन्तकम्] आ;असंज्ञमनन्तकम्-अ,ई;संज्ञश्च मा . . . . -इ

[105] परात्परं मृत्युमानं] अ,आ,ई; परात्परत्युमौन-ई

[106] तन्मूर्ध्न्याघ्राय] em.;तन्मूर्ध्न्याधाय-अ,ई; तन्मूर्ध्नाधाय-आ; -तन्मूर्ध्न्या . . . .-इ

[107] तत्काले] em.;यत्काले-अ,ई; यत्कालेऽपि-आ; . . . .-इ

[108] शिवरूपीव शिष्यकः] इ;शिवरूपी विशिष्यकः-अ; शिवरूपी विशेष्यकः-आ;शिवरूपी च शिष्यकः-ई

[109] स्वमूर्ध्न्याधाय] अ,इ,ई; स्वमूर्ध्नाधाय-आ

[110] सन्मार्गदायकः] अ,आ,इ; सन्मार्गनायकः-ई

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Saiddhāntika *paddhatis* I.
On Rāmanātha, the Earliest Southern Author of the Śaivasiddhānta of Whom Works Survive, and on Eleventh-century Revisions of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*

SUMMARY: The study of ritual in India is indissociable from the study of prescriptive texts. Now the Śaiva scriptures of the Śaivasiddhānta purport to lay down every aspect of the Śaiva religion, from doctrine to comportment, but they are for various reasons typically not straightforward guides to the performance of rituals and, in spite of their presenting themselves as revealed literature, they do not teach one body of ritual activity that is coherent and free from internal contradictions, as Śaiva exegetes have long freely acknowledged.[1] One way of helping practitioners to perform rites 'according to the rules' was to write commentaries on particular scriptures.

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[1] Only on doctrine were the scriptures held to be univocal; in matters of ritual, each taught different practices, as is acknowledged in a much quoted verse (cited, e.g., by Rāmakaṇṭha ad *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 4.2ab) attributed to Sadyojyotiḥ, who seems to have been active between 675 and 725 AC (see Sanderson 2006) :

> kriyādibhedabhedena tantrabhedo yataḥ smṛtaḥ
> tasmāt tatra yathaivoktaṃ kartavyaṃ nānyatantrataḥ.
>
> Since it is held that tantras are divided up according as they differ in details of ritual and such [other non-doctrinal matters], therefore one should perform what is enjoined in one particular tantra exactly in the way that it is enjoined there and not following some other tantra.

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The tenth-century Kashmirian theologian Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, a back-to-the-texts fundamentalist at least in the matter of ritual correctness, clearly advocated this strategy and has left us commentaries on the ritual portions of the *Matańgapārameśvaratantra* and the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*. Another strategy was to craft ritual handbooks, *paddhatis*, that clearly set out ritual practice step-by-step. Almost all surviving *paddhatis*, as Sanderson has observed (Sanderson 2004:358), are notionally based upon a single scripture, the *Dviśatikālottara*; but in practice this strategy gave ample room for innovation, typically by eclectic blending of ritual elements from different sources. A large number of Śaiva ritual manuals composed from the tenth century onwards survive (the best known are listed by Sanderson in his fn. 24 on p.358 of Sanderson 2004), only a few of which have been published to date. Because these manuals acknowledge themselves to be the works of human authors rooted in time and place, they can be of particular interest to the religious historian partly because they allow us to map the spread of different currents of Śaivism in time and place. Like the scriptures, they borrow generously from each other, thus demonstrating how they are mutually related. This article, to be followed by a few others on the same general theme, is intended as a small contribution to the history of Saiddhāntika *paddhati* literature.

Keywords: Indian religious history, ritual manuals/paddhati, Śaivasiddhānta, Rāmanātha, Tiruvārūr, Sanskrit text-transmission

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance for medieval Śaivism of the *Karmakāṇḍakramāvalī*, the verse manual of ritual composed by an eleventh-century scholar and pontiff of the monastery commonly known as Golakīmaṭha in Northern India.[2] Hélène Brunner's remarkable four-volume study of the work (1963–1998) has now made the work

For further exploration of how this verse was understood and used, see Goodall forthcoming.

[2] I am grateful to the following colleagues who joined me to produce together an electronic transcription of an important part of the evidence on which this article is based, namely the text of Rāmanātha's *Naṭarājapaddhati*: Michael Gollner, Nirajan Kafle, Dr. S.A.S. Sarma and Dr. R. Sathyanarayanan. I am also grateful to Michael Gollner, Alexis Sanderson and S.A.S. Sarma for their comments on an earlier draft of this article, to Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz for having invited me to contribute it to this journal, and to Emmanuel Francis for bibliographical suggestions.

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famous again to students of classical India in our own time, but there is evidence that the work was widely diffused, imitated and quoted from as soon as it had been produced. Naturally enough, Śaiva authors indebted to Somaśambhu are numerous indeed, the most celebrated being the twelfth-century South Indian exegete Aghoraśiva, whom we shall have occasion to mention below, but one recently noticed reworking of Somaśambhu's words is even Buddhist: Harunaga Isaacson has spotted that a fragmentary Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript microfilmed by the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project ('*prakīrṇa patra*', NAK 5-7495, NGMPP A 933/1) transmits a portion of Somaśambhu's treatment of reparation rites, but one in which distinctive and important Śaiva details, such as the names of mantra-deities, have been supplanted with Buddhist ones (Isaacson 2011:1–2)! It has been noted, moreover, that Somaśambhu's *paddhati*, like the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and other works of wide authority, has been incorporated almost whole into the extant *Agnipurāṇa*,[3] and more than one region of India has claimed the author as its own: Brunner, for example, found it natural to believe, when she began her *magnum opus*, that Somaśambhu was a Southerner (1963:xli) and Sanderson has recently discussed the claim (by which he is not convinced) that Somaśambhu was a Kashmirian (Sanderson 2007:245–247):[4]

> It may be thought that Somaśambhu's famous Paddhati should be included in this account of Kashmirian Saiddhāntika literature. For the Rājānakas of Padmapura (Pampur, 34°02'35"N 74°53'53"E) have claimed Somąśambhu as one of their remote ancestors, at least from the fifteenth century onwards. But the claim is dubious. In the Kashmirian version of the final verses of his Paddhati he is said to have been a brahmin of the Gārgya Gotra, while the Rājānakas of Padmapura tell us that their Gotra is the Gautama. In any case, even if Somaśambhu was from Kashmir, the Saiddhāntika Śaiva ritual system that he teaches is in no sense characteristic of that region. Somaśambhu wrote for a pan-Indian audience while holding office as the abbot of the prestigious Golakīmaṭha near Tripurī in Central India.

[3] Brunner1998:lix–lxi. For Pāñcarātra sources that have been similarly incorporated, see Rastelli 2007.

[4] For the details of the claim, see Sanderson 2007:245–246, footnotes 49–50.

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It is generally agreed now that Somaśambhu, whatever his origin, was the pontiff of this monastery, a foundation of Yuvarājadeva I of the Kalacuri dynasty, in the Rewa District of Madhya Pradesh, but, as Sanderson has demonstrated, the name of the place in Somaśambhu's time seems rather to have been Golagī (2009:264).

As for the date of his composition, we often see this given as 1095/6 AD (e.g. Sanderson 2004:358, fn. 24), but in a recent article Sanderson has tended to favour instead an earlier date, namely 1073 AD. His footnote on the subject is worth quoting in full (2007:420–421, fn. 640):

> In the colophonic verses in the edition of the text published in the KSTS from Kashmirian manuscripts it is said to have been completed in year 1130 of the Vikrama era (*vikramārkaṇṛpakālasamudbhaveṣu śūnyāgnibhiḥ samadhikeṣu ca tacchateṣu | ekādaśasv amalaśāstram idaṃ samastaṃ* [v.1813]), that is to say, in A.D. 1073/4, if we assume that the years are counted as expired rather than current, as is usual with dates given in this era. But in the Devakoṭṭai edition, prepared from Grantha manuscripts, and reproduced in the edition of Brunner (1963–1998, pt. 4, p.419) the same verse gives the year as Vikrama 1153 (*vikramārkaṇṛpakālasamudbhaveṣu pañcāśatā trisahiteṣu śaracchateṣu | ekādaśasv amalaśāstram idaṃ samāptaṃ*), which is A.D. 1096/7. An East Indian palm-leaf manuscript of the text prepared in the seventh year of the reign of the Pāla king Madanapāla [MS A, f.120v2–4: **parameśvaraparama*(em.: *pareśvarapara* Cod.)*bhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīmanmadanapāladevasya pravardhamāne vijayarājye saptame samvatsare* [...] *bhagavatpādapaṇḍitaśaivācāryakumāragaṇena likhāpito 'yaṃ śaivāgamaḥ śomaśambhukṛtaḥ*], that is to say, in A.D. 1149 in the chronology of D.C. Sircar (1976), doubtless conceals the same reading beneath its errors: *vikramārkaṇṛpakālasamudbhaveṣu pañcāhata triṣuśateṣu śaracchateṣu | ekādaśaśca mama śāstram idaṃ samāptaṃ* (f.121r3). An early undated Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of the text (MS B) lacks this verse, ending after the preceding verse with the prose *śrīmatkarṇaprakāśavyavaharaṇāya sasamasaṃvatsare kriyākāṇḍakramāvalīpustakaṃ paṇḍitācāryaśrīsomaśivena vira<ci>taṃ samāptam iti* (f.74r4–5). The reading *sasama* is meaningless. If this is an error for *daśama*, the meaning will be 'Here ends the text of the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* composed by Somaśiva for the use of the excellent Karṇaprakāśa in the tenth year'. The work was composed while Somaśambhu was abbot of the Golakīsthāna in the domain of the Ka-

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lacuri kings of Tripurī in Central India, whom we know to have appointed Saiddhāntikas of this richly endowed monastic institution as their Rājagurus. The year is surely regnal and I propose that the name Karṇaprakāśa is a periphrasis for Yaśaḥkarṇa, the Kalacuri king who ruled from Tripurī from A.D. 1073 to 1123, radiance/whiteness (*prakāśaḥ*) being the defining characteristic of fame/success (*yaśaḥ*) in Indian poetic convention (see, e.g. *Haravijaya* 13.3: *yaśaḥprakāśam*; 16.54: *śaśiśubhrayaśaḥprakāśa-*; Cambodian inscription K. 286, v.16bc (Coedès 1952, p.90): *kṣitīndrāḥ jātā jagattraya vikīrṇayaśaḥprakāśāḥ*). If this is correct we have a third date of composition, 1082. But *daśama* is not the only possibility. If *sasama* is a corruption of *prathama* the year will be A.D. 1073 and so agree with the version of the Kashmirian manuscripts. The fact that two different dates are given in an otherwise identical verse indicates not corruption but conscious revision. Perhaps the text circulated in two editions, an earlier and a later.

This footnote of Sanderson's presents a rather fascinating muddle of dates and ends with an intriguing conclusion. But before we consider the concluding remark, I should like to muddy the waters further by introducing evidence of a different kind that, while it furnishes no specific date, points to a time of composition a little earlier still than the dates hitherto proposed.

Somaśambhu and Rāmanātha

In the Śaiva monastery at Tiruvāvaṭuturai, near Kumbhakonam (Tamil Nadu), a single paper manuscript survives of a South Indian *Naṭarājapaddhati* by a certain Rāmanātha.[5] The text is full of close verbal echoes

[5] The manuscript appears to have been written with a fountain pen with black ink in modern Devanāgarī script on a feint-lined exercise book and its cover appears to proclaim in Tamil that it bears Copy Number 9 (*kā. pi. eṇ: 9*). The title-page states that it was copied from a manuscript in the same library: *iyaṃ kila śrīmannaṭarājapaddhatiḥ śrīmad-Gomuktīśv arapurastha[Tiruvāvaḍuturai]śrīmacchaivamaṭhālayād āgataprāktanamāṭṛk āpustakānusāreṇa vilikhitā yathāmāṭṛkaṃ saṃśodhitā ca satī vijayatetarām.* I am grateful to the *maṭha* for having permitted the Pondicherry Centre of the École française d'Extrême-Orient to take digital photographs of this manuscript in 2004.

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of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, and on first reading parts of it I suspected that it might have been a source for Somaśambhu for two reasons. The first was that many of the formulations that were extremely close seemed slightly clumsier in Rāmanātha's version. Admittedly with only one manuscript surviving of his text, some apparent "clumsiness" might simply be attributed to poor transmission, but such an explanation does not account for the kinds of clumsiness I mean, involving, for instance, slightly less satisfactory metrical breaks and sentences that yield their sense less readily. Compare for example these two closely parallel accounts of mendicancy, the first being that of Rāmanātha (MS, p.39).[6]

viśuddhabhasmanā snātaḥ kaupīnaṃ mekhalādi ca 2:31
parivartya samācamya maunī dhyātvā guruṃ śivam
tayor ājñāṃ samāsādya tāmrādyaṃ tuṃbakādi vā 2:32
ādāya pātram astreṇa kṣāḷitaṃ ghoramantritam
tanutrajaptakāṣāyaśucivastrāvakuṇṭhitam 2:33
astreṇa japtadaṇḍañ ca chatropānatparigrahaḥ
kopaṃ vivādaṃ niṣṭhīvaṃ sparśanaṃ mārgasarpaṇam 2:34
kutsāñ ca hitvā[7] varṇānāṃ caturṇām etya mandiram[8]
bhikṣāṃ dehīti sañjalpya tāvat tiṣṭhed adhomukhaḥ 2:35
yāvat prasnauti[9] gaur vatsayogāt gacchet tato 'nyataḥ

Bathed with pure ash, after putting on his loin-cloth and girdle, etc., and after sipping and silently venerating (*dhyātvā*) the guru and Śiva, he should obtain their permission [to go begging, then], taking up a vessel of copper or other [metal], or [one fashioned out of] a gourd or the like, which has been washed with water and has had the AGHORA-mantra recited over it, and which has been covered over with a clean reddish-brown-dyed cloth over which the KAVACA has been recited, and a stick over which the ASTRA has been recited, and equipped with a parasol and [ascetic's] sandals, avoiding anger, discussion, spitting, touching, wandering [from] the way, and censure [of others], he should go the home of [one of any of] the four classes,

[6] The provisional numeration of chapters and verses is mine.
[7] hitvā] *conj.*; bhitvā MS
[8] mandiram] *conj.*; mandiraḥ MS
[9] prasnauti] *conj.*; prastauti MS

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uttering "Give alms". He should stand face down for as long as it takes for a cow to lactate after being united with her calf. Then he should go elsewhere.

Now there is nothing actually wrong with any of this, but as soon as we put it beside Somaśambhu's account we shall see two things very plainly. First of all we see that the two accounts are unquestionably so closely related to one another that we are likely to assume one to have been derived from the other,[10] and secondly we shall notice several small awkwardnesses in Rāmanātha's account that are absent from Somaśambhu's:

- In 2:34a, e.g., there is an unpleasing *sāpekṣa-samāsa.*
- There are three instances where a unit of sense runs across the *pāda*-break in such a way as to create a slightly awkward widow- or orphan-effect: 2:33ab, 2:35ab and 2:36ab.[11] Somaśambhu's passage has not one such awkwardness.
- A concatenation of absolutives ties the whole unit together, whereas Somaśambhu's unit is more clearly articulated because of the occasional use of main verbs.
- The appearance of words that are key to the understanding of units of sense is sometimes delayed: in 2:32d, for instance, qualifiers of *pātram* are introduced before *pātram* itself, and in 2:34cd we have to read through an oddly disparate list, beginning abruptly with *kopam*, before we reach the verb *hitvā*, which clarifies why this collection of items have been clumped together.

[10] As always in such cases of textual relationship, many other more complex scenarios could be imagined too.

[11] Such "enjambement" is not remotely problematic in philosophical *kārikā*s or in versified instructions of this kind, but it can be jarring when it occurs frequently in a short sample of text, as here.

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Here is Somaśambhu's treatment of the same ideas:[12]

bhikṣārthaṃ tāmrajaṃ lohaṃ brahmavṛkṣādipatrajam[13]
bubhukṣor vihitaṃ pātraṃ mumukṣos tumbikādijam[14] 1.9.32/345
pavitraṃ śikyakālambi[15] bahurūpābhimantritam
tanutrajaptakāṣāya[16] śucivastrāvaguṇṭhitam[17] 1.9.33/346
viśuddhabhasmanā snātaḥ[18] kaupīnaṃ cottarīyakam[19]
parivṛtya[20] samācamya maunī dhyātvā śivaṃ gurum 1.9.34/347
tayor ājñāṃ samādāya daṇḍaṃ cāstrābhimantritam
ātapatrakaro yāyād bhikṣārthaṃ śuddhaveśmasu 1.9.35/348
tadā praṇāmaṃ niṣṭhīvaṃ[21] sparśam unmārgasarpaṇam
kutsanaṃ[22] ca na kurvīta tyajec ca śvādisaṃkulam[23] 1.9.36/349
caturṇāṃ śuddhavarṇānāṃ samāsādya gṛhāṅgaṇam
bhikṣāṃ dehīti saṃjalpya[24] pādāṅguṣṭhāgralocanaḥ 1.9.37/350
tāvatkālaṃ pratīkṣeta yāvad gaur[25] vatsayogataḥ
prasnavaṃ[26] samavāpnoti tato 'nyatra vrajen muniḥ 1.9.38/351

For gathering alms, the vessel made for a Sādhaka (*bubhukṣoḥ*) is of

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[12] C = a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript in Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 1406; K = Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies edition; D = Dēvakkōṭṭai edition; P = Pondicherry edition of Brunner.

[13] °patrajam] CK; °sambhavam DP

[14] tumbikādijam] KP; tumbakādikaṃ C; kambukādijam D

[15] pavitraṃ śikyakālambi] KP; pavitraśikkikālambi C; pavitraśuktikālambi D

[16] tanutrajaptakāṣāya°] KD; tanutrajaptakaṣāya° C; tanuprajaptakāṣāya° P

[17] °guṇṭhitam] CK; °kuṇṭhitam DP

[18] snātaḥ] CDP; snātam K

[19] cottarīyakam] DP; uttarīyataṃ C; sottarīyakam K

[20] parivṛtya] *conj.*; parivartya CK; parivṛttya DP

[21] tadā praṇāmaṃ niṣṭhīvaṃ] DP; tadā praṇāmaniṣṭhīva C; tato ghrāṇamalaṣṭhīva° K

[22] kutsanaṃ] KDP; kucchanaṃ C

[23] tyajec ca śvādi°] DP; tyajeyuḥ śvādi° C; tyajedaśvādi° K

[24] saṃjalpya] KDP; saṃjanya C

[25] gaur] CDP; gau K

[26] prasnavaṃ] P; pratyāvaṃ C; prasravaṃ K; prasnucaṃ D

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> copper, of iron, or of leaves from such plants as the Brahmavṛkṣa; for the seeker of liberation it should be made of a gourd or the like. [It should be] purified, suspended from a sling, having had the AGHORA recited over it, and covered over with a clean reddish-brown-dyed cloth over which the KAVACA has been recited. Bathed with pure ash, after putting on his loin-cloth and upper cloth, and after sipping and silently venerating (*dhyātvā*) the guru and Śiva, he should obtain their permission [to go begging], he should take his stick, over which the ASTRA has been recited, and he should go out in search of alms in pure households with a parasol in his hand. At that time he should not greet, not spit, not touch [others], not go off on detours and not revile [others]; and he should avoid groups of dogs and such. Reaching the yard of a house of [people belonging to any of] the four pure social groups, he should say "Give alms" and wait, with his eyes fixed on his big toes, for as much time as it takes for a cow to produce milk on being united with her calf. Then the muni should go elsewhere.

The comparative clarity and elegance of Somaśambhu's treatment of this subject is striking and would not, as I have indicated above, seem inconsistent, to my mind with his treatment having been a careful reworking of Rāmanātha's. Moreover, many other examples could be found to illustrate both that the two texts are very closely related to each other and that Somaśambhu's is more polished and more readily comprehensible.

We come now to the second reason that initially made me leap to the conclusion that Rāmanātha was a source for Somaśambhu. Flipping to the back of the manuscript, a feint-lined exercise book with pagination on both sides of each page, we find that Rāmanātha gives an account of his lineage, date and location. A full edition of that account is given below as an appendix, but for now I give only the last two verses exactly as they appear in the MS (p.192).

> śrīmat-Puṣpavanādhīśadhāmaprāṅmaṭhadeśikaḥ
> † śākā † śakābdadaśaśate viṃśativarjite
> Goḷakīmaṭhaniṣṭhāna - - - - vidhāyinīm
> paddhatin naṭarājākhyām akarot sukhabodhitām

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Sadly, this is damaged in two rather important places,[27] but here is what it seems to say:

> The pontiff of the monastery to the east of the temple of the venerable Puṣpavanādhīśvara [when] ten hundred less twenty years of the Śaka era † [had passed?] †, [i.e. in 980, viz. 1058 AD,] produced [this] manual, called the *Naṭarāja*, which is easily taught,[28] and which performs † … † of Goḷakī monastery.

Now a damaged verse offering an otherwise unsubstantiated date, corresponding to 1058 AD, is of course rather flimsy evidence on which to build anything. But we do find a corroborating echo of this date in another work of Rāmanātha, namely a doctrinal *prakaraṇa* teaching the tenets of the Śaivasiddhānta called the *Siddhāntadīpikā* (not to be confused with the prose works of that title, namely the published *Siddhāntadīpikā* or *Siddhāntaprakāśikā* of a certain Sarvātmaśambhu and the unpublished *Siddhāntadīpikā* of Madhyārjunaśiva). Rāmanātha's *Siddhāntadīpikā* is a work in 420 *anuṣṭubh* verses transmitted in a few South Indian manuscripts and here is its conclusion, transcribed from IFP T. 914, T. 284 and T. 112:

> śakābdake daśaśate[29] samāpte nyūnasaptake[30]
> śrīmat-Puṣpavanādhīśadhāmaprāṅmaṭhavartinā[31]
> kālenālpena sarveṣāṃ siddhāntārthaprakāśikā[32]
> subodhā Rāmanāthena[33] kṛtā siddhāntadīpikā

---

[27] One could perhaps repair the second half-line to read: *samāpte śākābdadaśaśate viṃśativarjite*, which would yield a tolerable *bha-vipulā*, but not a locative phrase, which we seem to require.

[28] Perhaps one could consider correcting here to *sukhabodhinīm*, "which teaches easily".

[29] śakābdake daśaśate] 914; śakābdayugasāhasre 284; śakābde … 112

[30] samāpte nyūnasaptake] 914, 284; … 112

[31] °dhāmaprāṅmaṭha°] 914, 284; … 112

[32] °prakāśikā] 914, 112; °prakāśakāḥ 284

[33] rāmanāthena] 914, 112; nāmanāthena 284

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abhidhārthābhidhā[34] padyaiḥ saviṃśatiścatuśśataiḥ[35]
śrotre niveśya[36] sasnehaṃ satataṃ prajvalatv iyam[37]

The wording is not elegant, and corruption and attempts to emend it may have disfigured it further. Here is a tentative translation of this very tentatively restored conclusion.

> When ten hundred minus seven Śaka years had passed, [i.e. in 993 (=1071 AD),] Rāmanātha, residing in the monastery to the east of the temple of the venerable Puṣpavanādhīśa, composed the *Siddhānta-dīpikā*, which is easy to understand, which reveals the doctrines of the Siddhānta quickly (*kālenālpena*) to everyone, whose name has the sense of its literal meaning (*abhidhārthābhidhā*), with four hundred and twenty stanzas. Once one has allowed it to enter one's ears with devotion, may it always shine brightly.

The formulation of this conclusion echoes that of the *paddhati*, and once again it gives a date in the second half of the eleventh century that is earlier than any of the dates hitherto proposed for the composition of Somaśambhu's manual.

Excursus on Rāmanātha being the first dated South Indian Saiddhāntika writer of whom works are extant

We may remark in passing that the dates of composition of Rāmanātha's two works place him about a century earlier than the celebrated commentator Aghoraśiva, whose *Kriyākramadyotikā* is dated to 1157 AD,[38] and thus makes Rāmanātha the earliest known South

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[34] abdhidhārthābhidhā] *conj.*; abhidhārthābhidhaḥ 914; abhidarthābhiḥ 284; ... dima° 112

[35] saviṃśati°] 914, 112; saviṃśatiś° 284

[36] niveśya] 914, 284; nibasya 112

[37] satataṃ prajvalatv iyam] *conj.*; santataṃ prājvantvimāḥ 914 (unmetrical); santataṃ prājvalanti mām 284; satataṃ projvalanti mām 112

[38] For a detailed discussion of this date, see Goodall 1998:xiii–xvii, fn. 24.

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Indian theologian of the Śaivasiddhānta of whom works survive.[39] Of course that he is South Indian is an assumption, for I am not certain of the place of his monastery,[40] but it seems a reasonable assumption to make given even just the rather typically Southern name he has chosen to give his *paddhati*.[41] Of course that name is a reflection of his guru's name, but that his guru should be called Naṭarāja (or variants

[39] No pre-twelfth-century works in Tamil appear to have been considered to be in any sense Saiddhāntika until after the twelfth century: see the Preface entitled 'Explanatory remarks about the Śaiva Siddhānta and its treatment in modern secondary literature' in Goodall 2004. This is of course not to say that the Śaivasiddhānta had not long reached the Tamil-speaking South, for we know of its presence there as early as the seventh century from Pallava inscriptions (see Goodall 2004:xix, fn. 17, and Goodall et al. 2005:112–113); but no surviving Sanskrit or Tamil literature belonging to this current of thought is known to us that proclaims a Southern origin.

[40] On the basis of the name-element Puṣpavana, numerous conceivable identifications could be advanced, such as Pūvaṇūr on the southern bank of the Kaveri, or Pūvaṇam in Sivaganga District, where there appears to have been a Puṣpavaneśvara temple from perhaps as early as the eighth century (ARIE 1894, B. 17 and ARIE 1985–86, B. 377, an inscription in "characters of the 8th century" that refers to the construction of the temple for Tiruppūvaṇattudēvar); but an equivalent of Puṣpavana might not form part of the toponym, and there may once have been several places with quite different names in which there was a Śiva-temple named Puṣpavaneśvara or Puṣpavanādhīśvara or the like, e.g. Tiruppūndurutti (ARIE 1894, B. 166).

[41] This is not to claim, of course, that Naṭarāja or Naṭeśa or other Sanskrit equivalents, or indeed any Tamil equivalents such as Āṭavallāṉ (used, for instance, as the name for a measure of weight in many of the eleventh-century inscriptions at the great temple in Tanjore: Hultzsch in *South Indian Inscriptions* II, No. 1, p.2) was by this stage exclusively or even particularly associated with Chidambaram, or even necessarily with the distinctive iconography of Śiva dancing in a posture known as *bhujaṅgatrāsita* that is found, among other places, at Chidambaram. Recent scholarship (e.g. Kaimal 1999 and Wessels-Mevissen 2012) has underlined how difficult it is to determine which Sanskrit term, if any, was at first privileged as the label for this iconographic type.

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thereof) is still itself perhaps an indication that he was a Southerner. Sometimes Rāmanātha uses the name in such a way that it must refer only to his guru, e.g. in the following concluding verse (p.41):

> akarot pāśavicchedaṃ yasya sākṣān naṭeśvaraḥ[42]
> tena rāmeśvareśena prokto nityavidhikramaḥ 2:47[43]
>
> The procedure for obligatory daily enjoined rites (*nityavidhikramaḥ*) has been taught by Rāmeśvareśa, whose bonds Nateśvara in person (*sākṣāt*) cut away.

But in other places, for instance the concluding verse to the first section of Rāmanātha's *paddhati*, he appears to make the name Naṭarāja allude both to Śiva and to his own guru (p.147):

> naṭarājapadāṃbhojasmaraṇadhvastakalmaṣaḥ[44]
> rāmeśvaraḥ śivaśrāddham[45] antyeṣṭyā saha so 'bravīt
>
> Rāmeśvara, from whom all impurity has been shaken off my meditating on the lotus-feet of Naṭarāja, has taught Śaiva post-mortuary rites, together with the death-rite.

We may note also that Rāmanātha's *Naṭarājapaddhati* is much cited by later Southern authors, in particular Nirmalamaṇi in his *Prabhāvyākhyā* on the *Kriyākramadyotikā*, albeit using the title *Rāmanāthapaddhati*,[46] and the wording of some passages in Aghoraśiva's works suggest that Aghoraśiva too was influenced by Rāmanātha.[47] One further indication

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[42] naṭeśvaraḥ] *conj.*; naṭaśvaram MS

[43] nityavidhikramaḥ] *conj.*; nityavidhiḥ kramaḥ MS

[44] °smaraṇadhvastakalmaṣaḥ] *conj.*; °smaraṇāvāstrakalmaṣaḥ MS

[45] rāmeśvaraḥ śivaśrāddham] *conj.*; rāmīśvareṇa - srāddham MS

[46] The citations may nonetheless be located in the *Naṭarājapaddhati*.

[47] Compare, for instance, the visualisation of the planets in the retinue of the sun as given by Rāmanātha (MS, p.13):

> somaṃ sitaṃ budhaṃ gauraṃ rocanābhaṃ bṛhaspatim
> sitaṃ bhārgavam aindrādidikṣv āgneyyādidikṣv atha 1:100

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of Southern origin may be mentioned: all the historical figures in Rāmanātha's spiritual lineage (see appendix) are associated with Kamalālaya, as is Nirmalamaṇi himself (see the verses on pp.389, 517 and 523 of his commentary), which is presumably to be identified with Tiruvārūr.[48]

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raktam aṅgārakaṃ dhyātvā śyāmavarṇaṃ śanaiśvaram
vāmorunyastahastāṃś ca dakṣiṇaiś cābhayapradān 1:101
kṛṣṇaṃ kṛtāñjaliṃ rāhuṃ ketuṃ dhūmrādisannibham

100d āgneyyādidikṣv atha] *conj.*; agnyādidakṣvathaḥ MS (unmetrical)
101a aṅgārakaṃ] *em.*; aṅgāraka MS
101c °nyasta°] *conj.*; °nyasya MS
102a kṛtāñjaliṃ] *conj.*; kṛṣṇāñjaliṃ MS

with the same visualisation in Aghoraśiva's Pañcāvaraṇastava:

somaṃ sitaṃ budhaṃ gauraṃ guruṃ gorocanādyutim
śukraṃ śuklaṃ ca pūrvādidikṣv athāgnyādikoṇagān 3
raktaṃ bhaumaṃ śyāmadehaṃ ca sauriṃ kṛṣṇaṃ rāhuṃ
dhūmravarṇaṃ ca ketum
vāmair hastair naumi tān ṣaṭ sametān
vāmorusthair dakṣiṇaiḥ sābhayaiś ca 4

For further striking evidence, see the discussion of verses 1–5 of the appendix.

[48] It is uncertain how old the use of Kamalālaya to refer to Tiruvārūr is. Today, it seems commonly to be used as a label for the tank (e.g. in The Hindu of 18th March 2004), perhaps because the name, "abode of lotuses", can be a kenning for a tank. But an undated 3-verse Sanskrit inscription "on a stone near a well in the first prakara" of what is today known as the Tyāgarājaswāmi temple reveals that the name Kamalālaya used to refer rather to the place. The first verse (SII, IV, No. 398, ARIE 74 of 1890) reads:

Śaṅkhatīrtham iti khyātaṃ Kamalālayamadhyagam|
vanmīkasaṃbhavasyāgre sarvarogakṣayāpaham|

[This is] called Śaṅkhatīrtha, situated in the middle of Kamalālaya, in front of [the liṅga] that arose from the ant-hill; it removes all maladies and afflictions.

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Given that Pūṅkōyil, "Flower-temple" is also used as a name for the principal Śiva-temple in Tiruvārūr,[49] it seems not inconceivable that this should have been sanskritised as Puṣpavanādhīśadhāma and that Rāmanātha's *maṭha* should have been to the east of the temple.[50] Whether or not this is correct, it is clear that Kamalālaya is in the South, since Rāmanātha's antecedent from Gauḍadeśa is said to have come to Kamalālaya in order to raise up Southerners (see verse 6 of the Appendix).

Rāmanātha's awareness of Somaśambhu

Given such a date, and given the many instances of shared verses, it seemed reasonable to assume that Rāmanātha's *paddhati* was

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A long Tamil inscription dated to the 7th regnal year of Kulottuṅga II, in other words c. 1140 ad, concludes with 3 not entirely clear Sanskrit verses that appear to give our toponym twice, once in the form *Lakṣmyālaya* and once in the form *Kamalāpura*. The inscription is found in SII, VII, No. 485 (ARIE 269 of 1901) and the verses in question read:

śrīmatbrahmapurīśavāgadhipatis svasvāmimitraś ca ye
tebhyo (31) hemasabhādhināthacaraṇannyāsollasanmastakaḥ[|]
prādāt bhūmihiraṇyakaṃ sarajatānn anyān dhanān sottamān
śrīyĀrūradhipasya mūlavasatau devo [']napāyo nṛpaḥ||
Lakṣmyālaye racitadharmmaparānupāla-(32)śīlān nṛpāṃ[ghri]
kamalāṃ cirasā namāmi[|]
Vyāghrāgrahāravarahemasabhānaṭeśapādāravindamadhu[p]o [hy
anapāya]nāmā||
āḷuṭaiya nampi mātākkaḷ icaiñāniyār
jananī bhavato ñānaśivācāryakule bhavet
śaive gau[tama]gotre smin ñānākhyā Ka[malā]pure||

[49] Thus *Tēvāram* 4.19:5, according to V. M. Subrahmanya Aiyar's interpretation in the *Digital Tēvāram*.

[50] Of course the compound *puṣpavanādhīśadhāmaprāṅmaṭha* could be interpreted differently: one could understand the Eastern Monastery at the temple of Puṣpavanādhīśa. A number of mentions of an "Eastern Monastery" are found in Southern inscriptions in different Southern towns with the label *kīḻai-maṭha*. Rajeshwari Ghose has written that *kīḻai-maṭha* 'seems to be the Tamiḻ for *Dakṣiṇa Golakī maṭha*' (Ghose 1996:165), but this seems improbable, since *kīḻai* does not mean 'southern'.

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an unacknowledged source for Somaśambhu. But this assumption must now be rejected, because it turns out that Rāmanātha actually alludes to Somaśambhu when quoting his prescription for the manufacture of the *sruk* (MS, p.76):

> rāmavedāṅgulaḥ kuṃbho gaṇḍī yugayamāṅgulā[51]
> vistṛtā gartagāmbhīryaṃ tryaṅgulaṃ dviyavottaram[52]
> vedāṅgulaṃ ca[53] vistāraṃ ity uktaṃ Somaśaṃbhubhiḥ
> śrīparṇī śiṃśapā[54] dāru bījakāmravikaṅkatāḥ[55]
> sruci vṛkṣāḥ praśasyante[56] kiṃśukādyāś ca yājñikāḥ
>
> The "pot" [of the ladle] should be three or four finger-breadths across; the "cheek" should be of four or two finger-breadths. The depth of its bowl should be two-barley grains more than three finger-breadths. And its breadth should be four finger-breadths—thus Somaśambhu has taught. The woods recommended for the ladle are *śrīparṇī*, *śiṃśupā*, cedar, *bījaka*, mango, *vikaṅkata*, and sacrificial woods such as that of the *kiṃśuka*.

The corresponding passage in Brunner's edition is easy to identify (SP4 2:83 and 87):

> rāmavedāṅgulaḥ kumbho gaṇḍī yugayamāṅgulā
> khātaṃ vedāṅgulair vṛttaṃ dviyavaṃ tryaṅgulaṃ khanet 83
> ...
> śrīparṇī śiṃśapā dāru bījakāmravikaṅkatāḥ
> sruci vṛkṣāḥ praśasyante kiṃśukādyāś ca yajñikāḥ 87

Rāmanātha's other surviving work too, the *Siddhāntadīpikā*, although it apparently contains no explicit mention of Somaśambhu, appears to echo Somaśambhu's classifications of initiation types (cf. SP3, 1:1–13

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[51] °yamāṅgulā] *conj.*; MS

[52] vistṛtā gartagāmbhīryaṃ tryaṅgulaṃ dvi°] *conj.*; tisṛṇāṃ gartagāṃbhīrya tryaṅguladviṃ° MS

[53] vedāṅgulaṃ ca] *conj.*; vedāṅgulastha° MS

[54] śrīparṇī śiṃśapā] *conj.*; śiparṇī śiṃśupā MS

[55] °mravikaṅkatāḥ] *conj.*; dravikaṃkatā MS

[56] sruci vṛkṣāḥ praśasyante] *conj.*; sāci vṛkṣāḥ praśalyante MS

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and IFP T. 914, pp.5–6) and of five varieties of *pratiṣṭhā* (cf. SP4, 1:1–7 and IFP T. 914, pp.9–10).

We could choose to assume then either that all our dates for the composition of Somaśambhu's work are wrong, or that the dates for Rāmanātha's works are. But there is a third possibility. If Rāmanātha was indeed writing in the 1050s and yet had access to Somaśambhu's text, perhaps he had access to an earlier edition of the work. We may recall that Sanderson, without being aware of Rāmanātha's manual, concluded his above-quoted footnote with the remark: '[p]erhaps the text circulated in two editions, an earlier and a later'. Furthermore, Sanderson has since found further evidence that points to another, still earlier date for the completion of the *Somaśambhupaddhati* than those advanced above, and he has told me that he intends to present this evidence in a future publication.

In his stimulating introduction to a recent volume of the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* (Band LII–LIII) devoted to textual criticism, Hanneder makes the following observation (2010:9–10):

> In view of the wide-spread occurrence of author variants in modern, that is, better documented times, it is not unrealistic to assume that some ancient authors worked like Goethe and kept record of how they developed their work. Furthermore, according to Pasquali, a plausible scenario for the "publication" of works is the following: an author composed and wrote down or dictated his work and permitted reproduction of his own copy. Not all authors died afterwards or lost interest in their work, leaving us with a single autograph without variants. Some authors may have added corrections in the margins, or copied a revised version. If we assume that the text was copied by the author in different stages of its development, every text could be slightly different and all variants at that stage would be authorial variants; the final copy of the author would contain the last version, which – as we have seen – is not necessarily the definite one. In other words, we could have the same problem as the new philologist, but we are unlikely to notice it.

In the case of Somaśambhu, at the head of a well-endowed and important Saiddhāntika monastery,[57] one can imagine him being visited

[57] For the wealth of the Golagīmaṭha, see Sanderson 2009:263–265.

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by Saiddhāntika initiates from many parts of the country, many of whom may have wished to take away copies with them of his extremely carefully written and for them clearly useful ritual manual. This might account for there being more than one date given as the date of completion in the sources that survive, and it might also account for a Southern abbot using a copy of the work before the issue of the dated "editions" now known to us. There may have been little difference between the various editions, but it is also not inconceivable that the work grew and improved over time and that Rāmanātha had a shorter and less polished work before him. We have observed above that Rāmanātha's formulations make the impression of being less polished drafts of passages that we find in Somaśambhu's *paddhati*. This may simply be because Rāmanātha does not write particularly well, but it may also be because he had before him an earlier version of Somaśambhu's work. Similarly, Rāmanātha's omissions may be attributable to Rāmanātha choosing not to treat certain topics, but it is also conceivable that such topics were not all from the first included by Somaśambhu. To give one example, Rāmanātha provides no account of the *damanotsava*. Could this have been added later by Somaśambhu, who prefaces his account with a sort of apology for introducing it into a Saiddhāntika manual in spite of the absence of any Saiddhāntika source?

With this short article I hope to have filled out a little our knowledge of South Indian Saiddhāntika literary history, for which, hitherto, no testimony earlier than the mid-twelfth century was known.[58] Those interested in the precise details of the apparently partly non-brahmin spiritual lineage leading to Rāmanātha in eleventh-century Tiruvārūr may consult the appendix that follows. I have also embroidered on a possible partial explanation of the conflicting evidence for the date of composition of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*. The hypothesis that it circulated in several eleventh-century "editions" may not have

[58] For more on the twelfth-century writers of the school, see Goodall 2000.

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much impact on editorial choices in the editing of the work,[59] but it is a speculation that it is interesting to entertain and it might provoke useful speculation about the circulation and use of other texts in pre-modern India.

APPENDIX: Rāmanātha's lineage

Here follows the concluding section of Rāmanātha's *paddhati* (MS, pp.189–192):

granthakarttṛpraśaṃsā[60]
ādau śivaśikhājyotisāvitryākhyān[61] gurūttamān[62]
anugrahārthaṃ lokānāṃ anujagrāha śaṅkaraḥ 1
tebhyas siddhāntasaṃsiddhaṃ gocarāṇāṃ catuṣṭayam
mantreśarudradeveśakramād bhūmim upāgatam 2
† jyotiṣāṃ lāttīti † yasmād utpannā gurusantatiḥ
addhyāsta bhārate varṣe Goḷakīsaṃjñakaṃ maṭham 3[63]

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[59] A new edition of the text covered by Brunner 1963, together with the hitherto unpublished commentary of the *Somaśambhupaddhatiṭīkā*, is being prepared in the Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO by Dr. S.A.S. Sarma.

[60] Note that verses 1 and 2 are identical with the verses that introduce the brief account of Aghoraśiva's genealogy at the end of his *Dviśatikālottaravṛtti*, which have been edited in Goodall 1998:xiv, fn. 24. The following verse there, however, although clearly related to our verse 3, places emphasis on Āmardaka, rather than on Golakī, as the most important of the Śaiva monasteries: see below.

[61] śivaśikhā°] *conj.*; śivaḥ śiva° MS

[62] gurūttamān] *conj.*; gurusattamān MS (*unmetrical*)

[63] In place of verses 3–5 of our text, the corresponding section of the conclusion to the *Dviśatikālottaravṛtti* (Goodall 1998:xiv, fn. 24) has been reconstructed to read as follows:

tebhyaḥ śivakulād ādyād utpannā gurusantatiḥ
śrīmadāmardakaṃ nāma sthānaṃ mokṣasya bhārate
guravas tatsamudbhūtā nānāścaryavidhāyinaḥ

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gotraṃ manonmanīsaṃjñaṃ[64] yasya vṛkṣo vaṭaḥ[65] smṛtaḥ
yatsantateḥ sa kūṭastho Dūrvāsā bhagavān muniḥ[66] 4
śrīmān asmin maṭhe Bhāvaśaṃbhuḥ śambhusamaḥ sthitaḥ[67]
guravo 'smāt samutpannā[68] nānāścāryavidhāyinaḥ 5
teṣv eko gauḍadeśīyaḥ[69] prāptavān Kamalālayam
īdṛśīṃ mūrtim ādāya dākṣiṇātyottitīrṣayā 6
āgataḥ[70] śiva evāyam iti lokānumoditaḥ
padavākyapramāṇajñaḥ śrīmān Brahmaśivaḥ[71] svayam 7
tatra Puṣkariṇītīre Dakṣiṇe[72] Golakīmaṭhe
vidvadbhir avasat sārddham agnikalpais tapodhanaiḥ 8
yathādhipuram āsādya[73] śivaḥ pāṇinaye purā
sūtraṃ vyākaraṇasyāha karaṇānām agocaraḥ 9
Puṣkarādhipatitvena yaḥ[74] pṛthivyāṃ prathāṃ gataḥ
brahmacaryatapovidyādayāśāntisamanvitaḥ 10
sadehikaś ca devaś ca mahāṃs tacchiṣyatāṃ gataḥ
sa mahātmā Mahādevaḥ sadā pratyaṅmukhendriyaḥ 11
yathāvajjñātaśaivārthas tathānyeṣv[75] abhiyogavān
vītarāgaḥ praśāntaś ca tatraiva Kamalālaye 12
śiṣyaiḥ tapodhanaiḥ prājñaiḥ sārddhaṃ Prācīmaṭhe 'vasat

But *sthānaṃ mokṣasya bhārate* is a restitution based on a parallel in Aghoraśiva's *Gotrasantati*, and the Trivandrum MS there reads *sthānam adhyasta bhārate*. It seems therefore more probable that we should correct *adhyasta* to *adhyāsta* and supply a missing half-line similar or identical to our 4cd (which supplies Dūrvāsas as the subject for *adhyāsta*).

[64] gotraṃ manonmanīsaṃjñaṃ] *conj.* Sanderson; gotrannā nmanīsaṃjñaṃ MS

[65] vaṭaḥ] *em.*; vaṭa MS

[66] muniḥ] *em.*; maniḥ MS

[67] Bhāvaśaṃbhuḥ śambhusamaḥ sthitaḥ] *conj.* Sanderson; śaṃbhuḥ śaṃbhuḥ samāsthitaḥ MS (unmetrical)

[68] °tpannā] *em.*; °tpanno MS

[69] gauḍadeśīyaḥ] *conj.*; gauḍadeśe yaḥ MS

[70] āgataḥ] *em.*; agataḥ MS

[71] brahmaśivaḥ] *conj.*; brahmaśivaṃ MS

[72] dakṣiṇe] *conj.*; dakṣiṇo MS

[73] āsādya] *conj.*; ānyāya MS

[74] yaḥ] *conj.*; yāṃ MS

[75] yathāvajjñātaśaivārthas tathā°] *conj.;* yathāvat jñānaśaivārtthaḥ tada° MS

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kaniṣṭho 'syāvasad Vāmaśivaḥ Puṣkariṇīmaṭhe 13
yaḥ siddhānte śivaḥ sākṣāt śilpe 'pi ca vidhiḥ śrutaḥ[76]
jñātvāntaṃ svecchayā dehaṃ tyaktvā[77] yaḥ śivam āviśat 14
devasya ca mahān śiṣyo Devadevāhvayo[78] vaśī
Śrīśaile duścaraṃ cakre tapaḥ kandaphalāśanaḥ[79] 15
tasya śiṣyottamaḥ śrīmān Naṭarājasya deśikaḥ
yasyāpi ca kramāyātaḥ[80] sa eva Kamalālayaḥ 16
ayatnapūrvaṃ yasyāsta brahmacaryātapovratam[81]
† śrīmatpārśvapuvaṃrāyaḥ † Nṛttarājaś ca[82] viśrutaḥ 17
yaḥ prāpa sarvavidyānāṃ pāraṃ tatra kṛtaśramaḥ[83]
Gayāyāṃ yo dadau piṇḍaṃ kṛpayātmaprabhāvataḥ[84] 18
ceṣṭāḥ śivārcanaṃ yasya yasya svairakathā japaḥ[85]
śivatvāpādanaṃ yasya[86] cakṣuḥpāto[87] yadṛcchayā 19
devo 'nantaḥ prasannātmā yasya śiṣyo bahuśrutaḥ
śrutaśīlopapannaś ca śrīmāṃs Tatpuruṣaḥ[88] śivaḥ 20
tapovidyādhikaś cāpi Śrīkaṇṭhaśivasaṃjñakaḥ[89]
jñānābdhir bhūtale khyātaḥ[90] prāṅmaṭhādhipasaṃjñayā 21
śivāgamānāṃ vyākhyātā padādiṣu ca paṇḍitaḥ
so 'pi Viśveśvaro devo yacchiṣyo deśikottamaḥ 22

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[76] vidhiḥ śrutaḥ] *conj.*; vidhiśrutau MS

[77] tyaktvā] *em.*; tyaktā MS

[78] mahān śiṣyo Devadevāhvayo] *conj.*; mahat śiṣyo devadevāṃhyayo MS

[79] duścaraṃ cakre tapaḥ kandaphalāśanaḥ] *conj.*; ¯ raṃ cakre tapaḥ ¯ palāśanaḥ MS

[80] ca kramāyātaḥ] *conj.*; kākramāyātā MS

[81] yasyāsta brahmacaryātapovratam] *conj.* Sanderson; yasyāstat brahmacādhātaye vratā MS

[82] Nṛttarājaś ca] *conj.*; tatra jā ¯ ś ca MS

[83] pāraṃ tatra kṛtaśramaḥ] *conj.* Sanderson; vāmaṃ pārastaṃbakṛtta-maḥ MS

[84] °prabhāvataḥ] *conj.* Sanderson; °prabhā ¯ MS

[85] svairakathā japaḥ] *conj.* Sanderson; sverakathāśanaḥ MS

[86] °pādanaṃ yasya] *conj.*; °pādanaṃ svasya MS

[87] cakṣuḥpāto] *conj.* Sanderson; cakṣuḥpādo MS

[88] Tatpuruṣaḥ] *em.* Sanderson; tatpuruṣa° MS (unmetrical)

[89] Śrīkaṇṭha°] *conj.*; śrīkaṇṭhaḥ MS

[90] jñānābdhir bhūtale khyātaḥ] *conj.*; jñānābdhi bhūtale khyāntaḥ MS

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prājñaḥ Pañcākṣaro devaḥ[91] pañcākṣaraparāyaṇaḥ
Triyaṃbakaśivaḥ śāntyā tapasā munisannibhaḥ 23
tasmād anantaraṃ dhīmān ——— sabhāpatiḥ[92]
kṛtāgamārthavinyāsaḥ[93] śānto Jñānaśivaḥ[94] sudhīḥ 24
tataś śāntaḥ śrutinidhiḥ Nīlakaṇṭhaśivābhidhaḥ
Oṃkāropapado devaḥ sarvasaṃgavivarjitaḥ 25
devo Maheśvaraḥ śāntaḥ tapovidyādayānvitaḥ
bahuśrutaḥ sudhīr devaḥ Somanāthaḥ taponidhiḥ 26
yasyaite deśikāḥ sarve śiṣyāḥ prājñāś ca naiṣṭhikāḥ
tasya śrī-Nṛttarājasya śiṣyaḥ śrīkaṇṭhatejasaḥ 27
śrī-Rāmeśvaranāthākhyaḥ savarṇakulasaṃbhavaḥ
tanmukhāj jñātasiddhāntarahasyārthaḥ samāhitaḥ[95] 28
śrīmat-Puṣpavanādhīśadhāmaprāṅmaṭhadeśikaḥ
† śākā † śakābdadaśaśate viṃśativarjite 29
Goḷakīmaṭhaniṣṭhānāṃ[96] ——— vidhāyinīm
paddhatin naṭarājākhyām akarot sukhabodhitām 30

Panegyric of the author of the book:

In the beginning, Śaṅkara, in order to bestow compassion on [all] men, bestowed compassion on the greatest gurus, who were called Śiva, Śikhā, Jyoti and Sāvitrī (1). From them the four lineages that are established within the Śaivasiddhānta came to earth, via Mantreśas, Rudras and gods (2). There came to reside (*adhyāsta*) in the continent of Bharata at the monastery called Goḷakī, † [so-called] because it takes (*lāti*) from among light (*jyotiṣāṃ*) † ,[97] from which there arose a lineage of gurus (3). † ... † whose [emblematic] tree is the banyan, and from which lineage [sprang]

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[91] devaḥ] *conj.*; devaṃ MS

[92] sabhāpatiḥ] *conj.*; sahāpatiḥ MS

[93] kṛtāgamārthavinyāsaḥ] *conj.*; kṛtāgamārttho vinyāsaḥ MS

[94] Jñānaśivaḥ] *conj.*; jñānaḥ śivaḥ MS

[95] tanmukhāj jñātasiddhāntarahasyārthaḥ samāhitaḥ] *conj.*; tanmukhā jñānasiddhāntarahasyārtthasamāhatāḥ MS

[96] °niṣṭhānāṃ] *conj.* Sanderson; °niṣṭhāna MS

[97] This attempt at a translation assumes that this is a *nirvacana* of Goḷakī in which the element *go* is interpreted as a "ray of light" and the element *la* is interpreted as representing the verb *lā*, a favourite root for *nirvacana*s.

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that supreme (*kūṭasthaḥ*) sage the lord Dūrvāsas (4).[98] In this monastery was the venerable Bhāvaśambhu, the equal of Śambhu [himself].[99] From him descended gurus who accomplished many extraordinary feats (5). Among them, one who was from Gauḍadeśa came to Kamalālaya, approved with joy by men with the thought that this was Śiva himself who, assuming such a [human] form, had come in order to bestow salvation on Southerners: knowledgeable in grammar, exegesis and logic [this was] the venerable Brahmaśiva himself (6–7). There, on the bank of the [temple] tank [of Tiruvārūr (?)], in the Southern monastery of Golakī, he lived together with learned, fire-like ascetics, just as, once upon a time, Śiva, who is [usually] inaccessible to the senses, having reached Ādhipura taught the *sūtra*s of grammar to Pāṇini (8–9).[100] He who has become well-known on earth as the Lord of Puṣkara, equipped with chastity, [the stored up power of] penance, knowledge, compassion, and peace, a god incarnate (*sadehikaḥ* ?), great (*mahān*), became his pupil. That was the great-souled Mahādeva, whose senses were always turned inwards [away from

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[98] Dūrvāsas is elsewhere usually associated not with Golakī, but with Āmardaka, e.g. in Anantaśambhu's commentary on *Siddhāntasārāvalī* 116 (penultimate verse of the *kriyāpāda*), and the banyan tree is the emblematic tree of Raṇabhadra. But such an association may not be very old. The earliest account of the *gocara*s in which it appears is probably that of Aghoraśiva in his *Gotrasantati* (pp.428–9), which appears at the end of the *Mahotsavavidhi* that is attributed to him. And, as we have seen above (in footnotes 60 and 63), Aghoraśiva appears to have adopted and adapted Rāmanātha's account of the *gocara*s, changing Dūrvāsas' association with Golakī to an association with Āmardaka.

[99] *Ex conj.* This follows a conjecture of Alexis Sanderson (letter of 23.xi.2010): "In my view *samāsthitaḥ* yields no acceptable sense. As for what precedes, we need, I think, a name ending in śambhuḥ, with a two-syllable *pūrvapada* to make up the number of syllables required. I propose *bhāvaśambhuḥ*, understanding this as synonymous with Prabhāvaśiva/ Sadbhāvaśambhu, the first abbot of the *maṭha* at Golagī."

[100] As Alexis Sanderson has pointed out to me (letter of 22.xi.2010), Ādhipura is to be identified with Tiruvorriyūr in North Madras. For the myth that Śiva appeared here to Pāṇini to bestow the grammar on him—hence his worship in a Maṇḍapa there as Vyākaraṇadānaperumāḷ—see ARIE 1913, p.110 (and ARIE 201 and 202 of 1913).

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the senses] (10–11).[101] Just as he had learned Śaiva doctrine, so too he exerted himself in other areas. Devoid of passion, at peace, he lived there itself in Kamalālaya with his followers, who were wise ascetics, in the Monastery of the East (*prācīmaṭhe*) (12–13b). His youngest [disciple] Vāmaśiva lived in the Puṣkariṇīmaṭha (13cd).[102] He was a veritable (*sākṣāt*) Śiva in [his learning about] the Śaivasiddhānta, and he was famed as [a veritable] Brahmā also in craftsmanship (*śilpe*).[103] Knowing [the time of his] death, he deliberately left his body and entered *śiva* (13c–14). The great self-controlled disciple of [Mahā-]deva was called Devadeva,[104] [who]

[101] Several points are uncertain here, but it seems clear that this person was called Mahādeva from the play on words in 11a. As for where or what Puṣkara is here, I do not know. Could it be the town of Tiruvārūr? For the turning inwards of the senses, cf. the first verse of the fourth *vallī* of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*.

[102] Is the Puṣkariṇīmaṭha not the same as the Prācīmaṭha?

[103] *Ex conj.* This conjecture rests on the assumption that Brahmā, as creator, is supremely skilled as a craftsman (cf., for instance, *Raghuvaṃśa* 7:14). Alexis Sanderson has proposed another conjecture (letter of 23.xi.2010): "I am reluctant to accept that *śrutau* is a corruption of *śrutaḥ*, not least because Brahmā has no obvious association with Śilpa. I propose an alternative: *yaḥ siddhānte śivas tvaṣṭā śilpe 'pi ca vidhiḥ śrutau*." He offers this translation: 'Śiva [himself] in [his mastery of] the Siddhānta, Tvaṣṭṛ in the practical arts, and Brahmā in [his mastery of] Śruti'.

[104] Several of the names in this lineage are initiatory names with the familiar ending -śiva, but the names ending in -deva (Mahādeva, Devadeva, Anantadeva, Viśveśvara-deva, Pañcākṣara-deva, Oṃkāradeva, Maheśvara-deva, Somanātha-deva) might also be initatory names, for the endings -śiva and -deva are prescribed respectively for Brahmin and Kṣatriya initiates in Somaśambhu's *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* (SP3, *samayadīkṣāvidhi* 107–9; Brunner 1977:96,102), as well as in several later Southern works and in one other Northern source that may be of comparable antiquity, namely Vimalācārya's *Tattvaratnāvalī* (unnumbered folio of fragmentary codex unicus NGMPP B 26/16):

taddhaste puṣpam āropya śive prakṣepayet tataḥ
udghāṭya netre deveśaṃ darśayen muktibhuktidam
puṣpapātavaśān nāma śivadevagaṇāntikam

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viprādināṃ kramāt kuryād athavā svecchayā guruḥ
(śivadevagaṇāntikam] *conj.*; śivadeveṅgaṇāntikam MS)

> Placing a flower in his [*scil.* the disciple's] hand, he should then cause him to cast it upon Śiva [in the *maṇḍala*]. Unbinding his eyes, he should cause him to see the Lord of gods [in the *maṇḍala*], who grants liberation and supernatural power. He should form his [initiatory] name according to [the mantra] where the flower falls, ending with -śiva, -deva and -gaṇa for brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively. Alternatively, the guru [may form the first part of an initiate's name] as he wishes.

Evidence for the use of the suffix -deva as the suffix of an initiatory name is confusing because the suffix is so common in non-initiatory names. A certain Bhaṭṭāraka Jñānasiu of (the temple of) Aṇupamveśvara is mentioned, along with several other temple priests on a 12th-century pillar inscription: bhaṭṭāraka Varuṇasiu of Aṇahileśvara, bhaṭṭāraka Maheśvarasiu of Jendrarājeśvara, bhaṭṭāraka Īśānū of Pṛthivīpāleśvara, bhaṭṭāraka Muktideu of Jojaleśvara, Vināyaka and Sāṃtisiu of Tripuruṣu, bhaṭṭāraka Mūladeu of Āsāleśvara, bhaṭṭāraka Tatpuruṣa of Padmaleśvara, bhaṭṭāraka Kedārū of Tripālakeśvara, bhaṭṭāraka Brahmarāsi of Āsapāleśvara [after which are mentioned some persons styled aboṭī, whose names appear not to be initiatory ones]. All are witnesses to a deed of the townspeople of Nāḍōl on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara (Jodhpur State), dated [Vikrama-]Samvat 1198 (=1142 AD). *Epigraphia Indica* XI, No. 4.9, pp.26ff. Bhandarkar comments (p.39):

> *Abōṭīs* are an inferior class of Brāhmaṇas, who are generally temple servants, and are still chiefly found in Dvārka. Of the names of the *bhaṭṭārakas* of temples, many end in *siū* (Śiva), two in *deū* (*dēva*), and only one in *rāśi*. I have elsewhere said that of the four well-known sects of the followers of Śiva, those whose names ended in Śiva were Śaivas, and those whose names ended in *rāśi* were Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas. But to what sect the ascetics who bore the honorific suffix *deū* (*dēva*) belonged, is not clear.

It is possible that in that inscription too the names in -deva are initiatory names of initiates to the Śaivasiddhānta. Returning to our own context, some of the instances of -deva are clearly intended as suffixes (see, e.g., 25c: *oṃkāropapado devaḥ*), but in some cases the element deva precedes or is separated from the name (e.g. 22c, 26a, 26c), which suggests rather that

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deva might be used as a title. But we should not lose sight of the possibility that some of the initiates of this lineage, including perhaps Rāmanātha, were non-brahmin.

Alexis Sanderson has kindly sent me (letter of 22.xi.2010) the following list of Saiddhāntika names in -deva extracted from his prosopography file:

Aghoradeva. An inscription of the reign of an unidentified Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vīrapāṇḍyadeva (362 of 1916) records a grant to an Aghoradeva of the Jñānāmṛtācāryasaṃtāna of the Golakīmaṭha (at Kallaḍakurucci in the Tinnevelly district). He is called Śoḻan Śīyan alias Aghoradeva in a record of the fourth year of the reign of Māṟavarman Tribhuvanacakravatin Sundarapāṇḍya. See Saletore, Ancient Karnataka, p. 398. 358 of 1916, an inscription of Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya, tells us that Aghoradeva alias Śoḻan Śīyan belonged to the Jīyar santāna of the Golakī school (Swamy 1975, p. 175).

Aghoradeva. Of the Āmuṇḍamaṭha. See Nandikeśvarasantāna. 422 of 1907.

Aghoradevarāvaḷar. alias Śivadavanapperumāḷ. 145 of 1932/3, AD 1216. See -rāvaḷar and cf. Rāvaḷan.

Astradeva. Guru of Vandandeva (q.v.); Guru of the Kīḻaimaṭha lineage. Tiruvārūr, Tañjāvūr district. 131 and 132 of 1894.

Īśānadeva. Alias Sadavacananallur. Resided with his pupils in the Nailapperumal maṭha at Karungalam. They came from the Kṛṣṇagolakimaṭha at Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore District. 504 of 1909, time of Sundarapāṇḍya I (c. AD 1250–).

Īśānadeva. Maṭhādhipati. 311 of 1927/8. Swamy 1975, p. 187. = Īśānaśiva.

Jñānamūrtideva. Of the Āmuṇḍamaṭha. 560 of 1911. Swamy 1975, p. 181. But on p. 176 he refers to the same as Jñānāmṛtadeva; see Nandikeśvarasantāna.

Tatpuruṣadeva. of the Jñānāmṛtācāryasaṃtāna (q.v.). 364 of 1916.

Namaśśivāyadeva. Abbot of the Nārpetteṇṇāyiravan maṭha of the Tirucchattimurram lineage at Tirunaikkaval (ARE Part II, § 53). Swamy 1975, p. 176.

Namaśśivāyadeva. Of the Āṇḍār-marudapperumāḷ lineage at Tirucchengattankudi; abbot of the Siṟutondar maṭha. 76 of 1922, AD 1232, from Siyattunagai, Nannilam taluk, in the Tañjāvūr district. Swamy 1975, p. 184.

Namaśśivāyadeva. Attached to the Terkil maṭha. 95 of 1942/3. Swamy 1975, p. 186.

Vandandeva. Disciple of Astradeva; a guru of the Kīḻaimaṭha lineage. Tiruvārūr, Tañjāvūr district. 131 and 132 of 1894.

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practised difficult asceticism at Śrīśaila, eating [only] roots and fruits(15).[105] His greatest disciple was the venerable teacher of Naṭarāja,[106] by whom also this same [monastery at] Kamalālaya was inherited (16). Effortlessly... famed as Nṛttarāja[107] ... (17). Who attained the farther shore of all disciplines of knowledge...; who, out of compassion, performed a *śrāddha*-rite (*piṇḍaṃ dadau*) at Gayā (18); Whose actions were [all] worship of Śiva; whose spontaneous conversation (*svairakathā*) was the muttering of mantras (*japaḥ*);[108] the chance fall of whose glance (*cakṣuḥpātaḥ*)[109] brought about Śiva-hood (19). His erudite disciple was the serene-minded Ananta-Deva (?), and the venerable Tatpuruṣaśiva, full of learning and virtue, and also Śrīkaṇṭhaśiva, superior in asceticism and wisdom, an ocean of knowledge, known on earth by the title "Head of the Monastery of the East" (20–21). And there was also Viśveśvara-deva, a commentator on the Śaiva scriptures and a Paṇḍit in grammar and the others [of

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Vāgīśvaradeva. A Guru of the Kīḻaimaṭha lineage. Cidambaram. 483 of 1920.

Viśveśvaradeva. Mudaliyār connected with the Tyagavinodan maṭha in Tirukacchiyur in the Chinglepet district. 58 of 1932/2, time of Vijataganḍagopāla (13th c.).

Viśveśvaradeva. Of the Periyamaṭha at Tiruvannamalai. 305 of 1919, AD 1359, of Kampana Odeyar (Vijayanagara dynasty). Swamy 1975, p. 186.

Śivadeva. Alias Kayilāyadevan; 1of the Kīḻaimaṭha lineage; Vikkiramangalam, Madurai district. 617 of 1926.

[105] *Ex conj.* One might equally have conjectured *mūlaphalāśanaḥ* (perhaps the commonest cliché), or *pattraphalāśanaḥ*, or *tṛṇaphalāśanaḥ*, or *parṇaphalāśanaḥ*. Alexis Sanderson has pointed out, however, that these last three seem somewhat extreme, and suggests therefore *śākaphalāśanaḥ* (letter of 23.xi.2010).

[106] If the text is correct here, then this should be Rāmanātha's guru's guru, in which case the several students who follow from verse 18 onwards must have been colleagues. This seems to be confirmed by verse 27 below.

[107] *Ex conj.* Cf. verses 16 and 27.

[108] *Ex conj.* This is the proposal of Alexis Sanderson (letters of 22.xi.2010 and 23.xi.2010) who referred to a number of other parallels for the use of the expression *svairakathā*, e.g. *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* 50.9c–10b and Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā* 8.5cd, and who also pointed to *Śivasūtra* 3.27: *kathā japaḥ*.

[109] *Ex conj.* This is again the suggestion of Sanderson (letter of 22.xi.2010). If one were to retain *cakṣuḥ pādo yadṛcchayā*, then one could interpret "whose [mere] glance or [the touch of whose] foot, [met with] by chance, brought about Śiva-hood".

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the basic disciplines, namely exegesis and logic], and whose disciple was the excellent teacher Pañcākṣara-deva, wise and focussed upon the five-syllabled mantra, [and] Triyambakaśiva, like a muni by his peace and his asceticism (22–23). After him [came] the wise … (…*sabhāpatiḥ*),[110] calm, intelligent Jñānaśiva, by whom a compendium of scriptural doctrine was produced (*kṛtāgamārthavinyāsaḥ*) (24).[111] Then the calm respository of scripture called Nīlakaṇṭhaśiva, [and] Oṃkāradeva, devoid of all attachments [to this world], [and] Maheśvaradeva, calm, possessed of [the stored up power of] asceticism, wisdom and compassion, [and] the learned, intelligent Somanātha-deva, an ascetic (25–26). Of this glorious Nṛttarāja, whose fiery power was that of Śrīkaṇṭha [himself], and of whom all these [above-named] teachers and wise followers of religious observance until death (*prājñāś ca naiṣṭhikāḥ*) were disciples, the glorious bearer of the name Rāmeśvaranātha, born of a family of the same *varṇa* (*savarṇakulasaṃbhavaḥ*), was the disciple (27–28b). Concentratedly he learned the secret doctrines of the Siddhānta from his [viz. Nṛttarāja's] mouth (28cd). Pontiff of the monastery to the east of the temple of the venerable Puṣpavanādhīśvara [when] two hundred less twenty years of the Śaka era † [had passed?] † , [i.e. in 980, viz. 1058 AD,] he produced [this] manual, called the *Naṭarāja*, which is easily taught,[112] and which performs † … † for those belonging to the Goḷakī monastery (29–30).[113]

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[110] A small emendation of *sahāpatiḥ* to *sabhāpatiḥ* has been made, but I have hesitated to fill out the gap. This could be done, for example by reading *śrīmān Dabhrasabhāpatiḥ*, in which case this would be an anthroponym based on the name of the deity in Chidambaram. But Alexis Sanderson has suggested to me (letter of 23.xi.2010) that it is more likely to be an adjective qualifying Jñānaśiva, and has proposed 'something like *arcitacitsabhāpatiḥ*'.

[111] *Ex conj.* This appears to refer to the composition of at least one non-exegetical doctrinal work by a South Indian contemporary of Rāmanātha.

[112] Perhaps one could consider correcting here to *sukhabodhinīm*, "which teaches easily".

[113] Alexis Sanderson (2nd letter of 23.xi.2010) made the following helpful observation on this half-line: "I am not sure what the idea is here. But it is probably what could be expressed by, e.g., *golakīmaṭhaniṣṭhānāṃ samyagvidhividhāyinīm* or *kriyākāṇḍavidhāyinīm* or similar, i.e. something like 'that ordains the ritual procedures to be followed by those who are initiates of the Golakīmaṭha'."

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There follows below a schematic representation of what the above account tells us about Rāmanātha's lineage.

Dūrvāsas (4)
|
Bhāvaśambhu, first head of Golagī (5)
|
numerous gurus
|
Brahmaśiva (?), who came to Kamalālaya from Gauḍadeśa (6–8)
|
Mahādeva, who dwelt in Prācīmaṭha in Kamalālaya (10–13b)
|
Vāmaśiva, who lived in Puṣkariṇīmaṭha (13c–14)
|
Devadeva (15)
|
Naṭarājasya deśikaḥ, who inherited Kamalālaya (16)
|
Nṛttarāja (?) (17 & 27)
|
Anantadeva, Tatpuruṣaśiva, Śrīkaṇṭhaśiva (Head of Prāṅmaṭha) (20–21), Viśveśvaradeva (22), Pañcākṣaradeva, Triyambakaśiva (23), ...sabhāpati (?), Jñānaśiva (24), Nīlakaṇṭhaśiva, Oṃkāradeva, Maheśvara-deva, Somanātha
&
Rāmanātha (*puṣpavanādhīśadhāmaprāṅmaṭhadeśikaḥ*), fl. 1058 AD

Bibilography:

Primary sources:

ARIE *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*

EI *Epigraphia Indica*

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NAK *National Archives, Kathmandu*

NGMPP *Nepal-German Manuscripts Preservation Project*

SII *South Indian Inscriptions*

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On *yantras* in Early Śaiva Tantras*

SUMMARY: The term *yantra* is used differently in early Śaiva *tantras* from what we see later. In early texts, its range of meaning is wider, and it does not inevitably and typically involve objects with geometric patterns. After examining some passages from the *Brahmayāmala* and other mainly unpublished and/or untranslated Śaiva texts, this article makes an attempt at outlining the early history of the term. Initially, *yantra* seems to refer to special techniques, rituals, to attain religious goals. Later it appears to denote complex rituals of black magic involving fire-offerings with transgressive substances, using objects such as figurines embodying the targeted person, and employing mantra-inscribed materials such as birch-bark. The commonly known usage of the term *yantra* as a magical diagram with geometrical designs seems to have emerged only gradually.

KEYWORDS: *yantra*, magical rituals, Śaiva Tantra, *Brahmayāmalatantra*

Definitions

In secondary literature *yantras* of the Śaiva (and Vaiṣṇava) tantric traditions are almost always treated as simple mobile diagrams or

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designs, usually made up of linear patterns inscribed with mantras, drawn on such materials as birch-bark, copper plates and cloth. This type of *yantra* is what we gather from most of our texts and see as surviving images and objects. This interpretation of *yantra* is what studies drawing mainly on secondary sources give, and this is what the most up-to-date scholarly articles on *yantra*s substantiate, such as those found in Bühnemann 2003. Bühnemann gives an extensive bibliography and summarises previous scholarship (Bühnemann 2003: 4–6). She defines *yantra* as a "magic diagram" (Bühnemann 2003: 28) and characterises *yantra*s as small and mobile objects, implying that they are always drawings made up of lines and geometric patterns (Bühnemann 2003: 29). She also draws attention to the fact that in some texts a *yantra* can stand for "an instrument, machine, mechanical device or appliance (especially one used in warfare)" (ibid.),[1] that *yantra*s are also used in Āyurveda, and that the term may also designate alchemical apparatuses (Bühnemann 2003: 1).[2] In the same volume Brunner remarks (Brunner 2003: 162) that "the terms yantra and cakra are rarely encountered in the Siddhānta [...] while they are frequent elsewhere", i.e. in other branches of Śaiva Tantra, such as the Bhairava and Kaula traditions.[3] Her definition and analysis of *yantra*s imply that they are linear representations, and she adds that "[t]he drawing is always completed with the inscription of letters, of *bīja*s, [...] and of mantras [...]" (Brunner 2003: 163). She suggests that the terms *yantra* and *cakra* are sometimes used synonymously, and proposes the general term 'coercive diagram' for both (Brunner 2003: 164–165). According to Rastelli, "yantras consist *usually* of diagram-like drawings and mantras made present in them" (Rastelli 2003: 142, italics mine). As we can

[1] On *yantra*s as war-machines, see especially Brockington 1998: 178, 183, 407. On *yantra*s as war-machines, weapons, magical dolls and miraculous mechanical devices, see Raghavan 1952.

[2] On *yantra*s as alchemical apparatuses, see also White 1996: 145, 250 etc.

[3] On the basic classification of the corpus of Śaiva Tantra, see primarily Sanderson 1988: 664ff, 2001: 2ff and 2004: 229 n. 1.

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see, these authors,[4] whose research on *yantras* is unquestionably well-founded and well-evidenced, generally agree on *yantras* being mobile, diagram-type objects used for worldly and magical purposes often including mantra-syllables written on them (and, rarely, drawn figures of deities). *Yantras* may have various applications such as being "implements during a worship ritual" or "during a practitioner's *regular* Tantric worship of a deity", and can be used for desire-oriented rites (*kāmya*), often worn as amulets for protection (Bühnemann 2003: 32).[5]

Sanderson's remark quoted in Bühnemann (Bühnemann 2003: 162 n. 19, from Padoux 1986: 33) modifies the above consensus to some extent: "Kṣemarāja [...] [in his commentary on *Netratantra* 20.59c] defines [...] [*yantra*] (in its more complex form) as a collection of mantras written in a particular pattern[6] ([...] *yantracakraṃ viśiṣṭasaṃniveśalikhito mantrasamūhaḥ*), while in its most basic form it is simply a spell written on a piece of birch-bark (*bhūrjapatram*)...". Sanderson may imply that no drawing of geometric design is necessarily involved in these definitions.[7] In his more recent publications, Sanderson defines *yantra* as "a diagram on birch bark inscribed with

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[4] And a reviewer: see Bolle 1989.

[5] Note that Bühnemann uses texts that can be labelled as later ones as opposed to the earlier *tantras* analysed below. Bühnemann summarises her research on *yantras* in Bühnemann 2007: 566–573.

[6] The same phrase is translated by Sanderson as 'a particular spatial arrangement' in Sanderson 2004: 290 n. 149, see below in n. 9.

[7] Note that even though Sanderson is quoting Kṣemarāja's commentary (from the early part of the eleventh century, see Sanderson 2004: 239), and not the *Netratantra* itself (AD 700/800–850, see Sanderson 2004: 293), these definitions of *yantracakra* and *yantra* are still different from that of mantra-inscribed drawings with geometric patterns. At other places, Kṣemarāja uses such sources for *yantra* descriptions that are probably slightly later than the *Netratantra*, e.g. the *Kulārṇava* (see his comments on *Netratantra* 16.34), which may or may not be related to the text published under the same title. See more on the *Netratantra* below in the following pages.

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the Mantra,"[8] and as "a Mantra-inscribed diagram written in various colours and with various inks on cloth, birchbark, the hides of various animals and the like," mostly with reference to the *Netratantra*.[9,10]

[8] Sanderson 2004: 244–245 (on *Netratantra* 6.35c–50): "A Yantra, that is to say a diagram on birch bark inscribed with the Mantra and the name of the beneficiary, is worshipped; a fire-sacrifice is performed; and the king is consecrated from a vase into which the Mantra has been infused. The ceremony is to destroy the pride of his enemies when he goes into battle, to free him from all illnesses, and to bestow on him the highest sovereignty."

[9] Sanderson 2004: 290 n. 149 (explaining the term *khārkhoda*): "*Netroddyota* ad 19.132b: *khārkhodāḥ paraprayuktā yantrāḥ*; and ad 18.4b: *mṛtyūccātanādikṛd yantraṃ khārkhodaḥ*. A *yantram*/*yantraḥ* is a Mantra-inscribed diagram written in various colours and with various inks on cloth, birchbark, the hides of various animals and the like, wrapped up and then employed in various ways (by being worn as an amulet, by being buried in a cremation ground, and so on) for purposes such as warding off ills, harming an enemy, or forcing a person to submit to the user's will. Cf. Kṣemarāja's definition of a *yantracakram* as a series of Mantras written in a particular spatial arrangement (ad 20.59c): *yantracakram viśiṣṭasamniveśalikhito mantrasamūhaḥ*."

[10] Sanderson 2007b: 264–265 n. 134: "The Sanskrit term *yantram* refers to a Mantra-inscribed diagram that may be engraved or written in various colours and with various inks on a strip of metal, cloth, birchbark, the hides of various animals and the like, wrapped up, and then employed in various ways, by being worn as an amulet, by being buried in a cremation ground, and so on, for purposes such as warding off ills, harming an enemy, or forcing a person to submit to the user's will. Cf. the definition in Nanjundayya and Iyer 1928–1936, vol. 2, p. 425: "Charms are written, engraved, on a small metal plate which is either rolled or enclosed in a small case which is fastened to a thread to be made fit for wearing. It is called a yantram (that which holds, restrains, or fastens). Yantrams are usually drawn on thin plates of gold, silver, copper led [*sic*] and sometimes on a piece of cadjan leaf, and the efficacy of the figures when drawn on a gold leaf will last for 100 years, while those on the less precious metals will last for a year or six months. Leaden plates are used when the yantrams are to be buried underground. The figures should possess the symbols of life: the eyes, tongue, eight cardinal points of the compass

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Both of these more recent definitions may imply some sort of drawn patterns and are closer to the generally accepted definitions than to that of Kṣemarāja.

In the following, I would like to make a small contribution to the research on *yantra*s by showing that in some early Śaiva *tantra*s the situation concerning *yantra*s seems to be somewhat different from what would be expected. The lack of drawn geometric patterns in some *yantra*s (as hinted at by Sanderson) and, what is more, the very broad semantic field of the term *yantra* in some early Śaiva *tantra*s, are unique features worth examining, primarily because they might give us a new tool to date (layers of) our texts.

*Yantra*s in the *Brahmayāmala*

In some chapters of the *Brahmayāmala* (BraYā), which is probably one of the earliest extant Śaiva Tantras,[11] the meaning of the term *yantra* seems to be different from the widely known one, and its interpretation seems to be less than straightforward.[12] BraYā *paṭala* forty-five,[13] a long chapter on the classification and basic rituals of practitioners, *sādhaka*s,[14] is slightly obscure on *yantra*s, and while it gives some details on drawing and fashioning of figurines, on mantras and rituals, it seems to be silent on geometrical patterns. It often alludes to instructions 'taught in *yantra*s' (*yantrokta*).[15] This probably means that details are to be found in other relevant sections/chapters on *yantra*s, and

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and the five cardinal points. When properly made and subjected to a routine of *pūjā*s by a magician (*mantravādi*), it is supposed to possess occult powers. Each yantram is in honour of some particular deity, and when that deity is worshipped and the yantram is worn, the wearer's object is satisfied."

[11] On the BraYā, see Sanderson 1988: 672, 2009: 46 etc., Hatley 2007 and Kiss 2015 (forthcoming). The text is now dated to the seventh century, see Hatley 2007: 211–228 and Sanderson 2009: 51.

[12] I address this problem cursorily in Kiss 2015: 50 (forthcoming).

[13] Folios 194v to 212r.

[14] See Kiss 2015 (forthcoming).

[15] E.g. 45.319d, 322c, 324d, 325d, etc.

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may lead us to BraYā *paṭala* five,[16] a major chapter on *yantra* rituals (*yantrakarman*). It is primarily the colophon of this chapter[17] that states that the main topic discussed here is *yantra* rituals. The first half-verse confirms this, in non-standard (*aiśa*)[18] Sanskrit: "Now I shall teach you the ultimate method of *yantra* rituals..." 5.2ab adds: "...[and I shall also teach you] the *vidyā*-mantras and fire-offerings [included] in *yantra* rituals, in due order."[19] After this, and an inconclusive mention of the word *yantra* when visualisation (*smaraṇa*) is praised over recitation, fire-offerings, *pūjā* and *yantras*,[20] the text of this 140-verse-long chapter seems to avoid the term *yantra* in any sense that could be interpreted as 'a small magic diagram'. In contrast with this lack of explicit

[16] Folios 38v to 42v.

[17] Colophon: *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake yantrakarmapañcamapaṭalaḥ*. ("Here ends the fifth chapter in the *Picumata*, the *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, called Yantra Rituals.") Note that a colophon like this, and possibly also the introductory verses, might theoretically be later than the main text of the chapter itself.

[18] On *aiśa*, the typical, non-standard, non-Pāṇinian Sanskrit of some Śaiva *tantras*, see Törzsök 1999: xxvi ff, Goudriaan & Schoterman 1988: 44–109, Goodall 1998:lxv ff, Hatley 2007: 234–235 and Kiss 2015: 73–87 (forthcoming). I do not correct such non-standard linguistic phenomena here that may not simply be scribal errors. Note that the non-standard and obscure language of the BraYā often makes the text difficult to interpret.

[19] BraYā 5.1–2ab: *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi yantrakarmavidhiḥ param / yena vijñātamātreṇa mantrī lokair na bādhyate // vidyā yantravidhāne tu homāṇi ca yathākramam.* ("Now I shall teach you the ultimate method of *yantra*-rituals, by merely knowing which the mantra master will cease to be harassed by people. [I shall also teach you] the *vidyā*-mantras and fire-offerings [included] in *yantra* rituals, in due order.")

[20] BraYā 5.10cd–11ab: *na japeṇa na homeṇa na ca yantra na pūjayā / sarvadā smaraṇenaiva tena siddhir na saṃśayaḥ.* ("*Siddhis* [arise] always only by visualization, no doubt, and not by recitation, fire-offerings, *yantras* or *pūjā*.")

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mention of *yantra*s as diagrams, the text mentions devices, machines, i.e. *yantras*,[21] that the ongoing rituals can stop or paralyse:

> "He can put out a fire with a glance. Also, he can make such machines (*yantra*) as ships stop, no doubt about it. He can also incapacitate marital machinery (*saṃgrāmikāni yantrāṇi*) quickly with a glance, with his [magic] head-mark (*tilaka*) applied. The power of wind and fire machinery (*yantra*) dies by the ashes of Indra's fire [i.e. by the apllication of ashes of objects destroyed by lightning]."[22]

This passage is from a section (5.54–60) on *dṛṣty-apahāra* ('taking away one's sight')[23] and *stambhana* (paralysing), magical achievements whose chief instrument is the application of head-marks (*tilaka*) painted with ashes of people destroyed by lightning.[24] One wonders whether the repeated mention of the term *yantra* here could have influenced the colophon or the introductory verses.

Further instructions for rituals of magic in chapter five of the BraYā can be summarised as follows. Verses 5.3–8: some instructions on bone ornaments (*mudrā*). Only two of five are to be used

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[21] On *yantra*s as war machines see Brockington 1998: 178, 183, 407 and Raghavan 1952.

[22] BraYā 5.58–60ab: *agniṃ ca stambhayec caiva darśanā[c] caiva suvrate / nāvādīni ca yantrāṇi stambhayen nātra saṃśayaḥ // saṃgrāmikāni yantrāṇi-s-tathā stambhayate bhṛṣam // tilakena kṛtenaiva darśanā[n] nātra saṃśayaḥ // prāṇā vāyvagniyantrāṇāṃ mṛtaḥ śakrāgnibhasmanā.*

[23] Cf. *Laghuśaṃvara*, end of chapter 10: *yasyicchati tasyaiva rūpaṃ karoti / vācam apaharati, śrotram apaharati, dṛṣṭim apaharati, ghrāṇam apaharati, jihvām apaharati / yasyecchati tasya rudhiram ākarṣayati stambhayati vā.* ("He can assume any form. He can take away one's speech, hearing, sight, sense of smell, taste. He can draw or freeze anybody's blood.")

[24] *vajradagdhanarasyātha bhasmaṃ gṛhya varānane / [...] tatas tu bhasmanā tena tilakaṃ kārayen manaḥ.* (Probably understand *kārayed ātmanaḥ*. Alternatively one could read *kāraye 'tmanaḥ*, where the loss of the optative ending *-t/d* and an irregular *sandhi* would be instances of two very common *aiśa* linguistic phenomena.) ("Oh Varānanā, he should collect the ashes of a man struck by lightning. [...] Then he should paint a head-mark for himself with those ashes.")

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here, the skull-topped staff (*khaṭvāṅga*) and the skull (*kapāla*). Verses 5.9–23ab: although subjugation is hinted at in 5.12 (*vaśaṃ kurvanti mānuṣam*), this section teaches a preliminary fire-offering before the practitioner can start the main rituals (*tataḥ karma samārabhet*, 5.23ab). The hairs of a jackal dipped into menstrual blood (*puṣpa*) are to be used. Substances such as rags found on the road, hairs of a corpse, and cow flesh are to be offered. A *maṇḍala* is to be constructed and the offerings are to be made with the left hand. 5.23cd–30: the description of the main magical rituals begin here. Rituals such as *ākarṣaṇa*, *vidveṣaṇa* and *uccāṭana* are touched upon, and transgressive substances such as menstrual blood are used again in these rituals, as well as skulls. Apparently, all that is needed for the success of these magical rituals is fire-offerings.[25] 5.29ab mentions *pratimā*s (statuettes, figures, images) to be smeared with the previously listed substances and pungent oil[26] in order to ruin the enemy. 5.31–47ab: the main elements of the following rituals are an image/figurine (*pratikṛti*), probably of the target of the ritual (*sādhya*), as well as drawn geometric patterns, for the first time in this chapter except for the preliminary *maṇḍala*.[27]

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[25] BraYā 5.23cd–25ab: *niṣṭhīvanaṃ dantakāṣṭhaṃ svadehodvartanaṃ tathā / nāmnā madyāktahomena trailokyaṃ vaśam ānayet / dantadhāvanam ādāya gokīṭarudhiraṃ tathā // tenāktaṃ homamayec cailaṃ trailokyaṃ karṣayet kṣaṇāt...* ("Saliva, tooth-cleaning sticks, excreta of one's own body: with fire offerings dipped in alcohol he will subjugate the three worlds. With tooth-cleaning [sticks], the blood of a cow and of worms: he should make fire offerings with cloth dipped in it [i.e. in blood]. He can attract the three worlds in a moment...")

[26] Resin? BraYā 5.29ab: *tīkṣṇatailena saṃmiśraṃ lepayet pratimāni tu / yatra yatra sthitaḥ kuryāc chatror uccāṭanaṃ mahat.* ("He should anoint the images with [...] mixed with pungent oil. Wherever he performs this, he will cause the enemy great panic.")

[27] BraYā 5.31: *pratikṛtiṃ kārayen mantrī tato lekhyaṃ tu kārayet / āgneyamaṇḍalaṃ likhya hrīṃśaktyā kauṇḍalāntake* [*kuṇḍal-*?]. ("The mantra master should make a figurine/image. Then he should start drawing. He should draw a Fire-*maṇḍala* (triangle) with the HRĪṂ-*śakti* [syllable] at [...]")

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Āgneyamaṇḍalas are mentioned here, which are probably triangles.[28] The target's name is combined with the *vidyā*-mantra. The name/image of the target is to be written/drawn (on birch bark?) with mantras and the resulting object is to be placed[?] in an (earthen) vessel and fire-offerings are to be performed.[29] 5.34–47ab give variants of this ritual. Now it is a *māhendramaṇḍala* (square), an *āgneyamaṇḍala* (triangle) and a *vāyavyamaṇḍala* (hexagon) to be drawn. The image/figurine ([*ā*]*kṛti*) should be worn on the chest. 5.47cd–53: the magical ritual of *adreśīkaraṇa*.[30] In the cremation ground, the *sādhaka* should perform pantheon-worship (*yāga*). He should use human skulls filled with fat as lamps.[31] Lampblack is to be applied to one's own eyes. This makes one invisible.[32] 5.54–60: in the magical ritual of *dṛṣṭyapahāra* (touched upon above) an ointment is to be made to paint a *tilaka* with from the ashes of a man struck by lightning. This takes away anyone's vision. The *sādhaka* can paralyse the wind, fire etc., and thus ships and other

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[28] The *āgneyamaṇḍalas*, *vāyumaṇḍalas* and *māhendramaṇḍalas* utilised in this chapter are probably triangles, ('circular'?) hexagons and squares. Cf. Kṣemarāja's commentary ad SvT 9.62: *āgneyamaṇḍalaṃ trikoṇaṃ tadbahir vāyumaṇḍalaṃ ṣaṭkoṇaṃ vartulam*; and *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* 23: *māhendramaṇḍalaṃ caturasram*.

[29] BraYā 5.32: *vidyāyā darbhitaṃ nāmaṃ hrīkārādyantagaṃ tathā / tatkṛtau prakṣiped bhūrje tāṃ kṛtiṃ tathā sampuṭo* [*-puṭām*?] *// sthāpayitvā śarāvābhyāṃ homāny etāni kārayet*.

[30] Understand *adṛśyakaraṇa* ('making one invisible').

[31] BraYā 5.48cd-50ab: *tatrāgrato praviṣṭas tu kapāle mānuṣe-s-tathā // dvābhyāṃ tu pādau saṃsthāpya kapāle dīpakaṃ tataḥ // vasayā dāpayitvā* [*dīp-*?] *tu kapālatritayaṃ tathā // teṣām upari vinyasya kapālādhomukhaṃ tathā*. (Tentative translation: "First, he should enter [the cremation ground], and place two human skulls on [his] feet/legs[?]. He should [place] lamp[s] in the skull[s] and[/lit by] fat. A third skull should be placed on them face down.")

[32] BraYā 5.53: *kapāle mānuṣe gṛhya vasayā kajjalaṃ niśi / adreśīkaraṇaṃ siddhaṃ yāvan netreṣu tiṣṭhati*. ("At night he should collect the lampblack from the human skull together with fat. Invisibility is guaranteed while it stays on one's eyes.")

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machines, by a magical *tilaka* when performing the *stambhana* ritual described here. 5.61–87ab: the rags of a man struck dead by lightning used in this magical rite gives the *sādhaka* the *svacchandasiddhi*.[33] He can assume any form. The passage mentions bird feathers to anoint and worship deity images with.[34] Dust from the city gate or from the target's feet is to be collected to draw an image with. The name of the city or a person is to be written down.[35] A powder is to be collected on birch-bark and a triangle is to be drawn into which the target's name is written.[36] Preparing/cooking some edible mixture and its consumption is repeatedly mentioned. 5.87ff: the figure of a man is to be drawn and mantras and the target's name are to be written on birch-bark with jackal's bile. The mantra-syllables produce the central mantra of the BraYā's cult: CAṆḌĀ KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ. This ritual aims at the transplantation of souls (*utkrānti* and *saṃkrānti*). 5.101–140: as a continuation, this section gives instructions on how to enter others' bodies (*paradehapraveśa*) and goes on describing the *siddhi*s these rituals produce. As Hatley observes, "[a] human figure (*puruṣa*) is drawn on birch-bark (*bhūrjapatra*) using bile of the jackal, upon which

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[33] BraYā 5.61: *mānuṣasya śarīrasthaṃ karpaṭaṃ vātha suvrate / bhasmīkṛtaṃ ca vajreṇa gṛhītavyaṃ na saṃśayaḥ.* ("Oh Suvratā, the rags from a corpse that has been turned into ashes by lightning should be collected, no doubt.")

[34] BraYā 5.68ab: *krauñcasārasapakṣais tu tailābhyaktāś ca devatāḥ.* ("The deities are anointed with the feathers of curlews and cranes."); 5.73cd: *tato devyo 'tha sampūjya krauñcasārasapakṣajaiḥ.* ("Then, having worshipped the goddesses with the feathers of curlews and cranes...")

[35] BraYā 5.70: *nagaradvāre rajaṃ gṛhya sādhyasya ca pade 'pi vā / tayā pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā tayā nāmaṃ vidarbhayet*; ("He should collect dust at the city gate or from the target's feet. He should draw a figure with it and join it with the name.") 5.72ab: *nagarasya tu nāmaṃ syā' sādhyanāmātha vā priye.* ("It is the name of a city or the name of the target, oh Priyā.")

[36] BraYā 5.78cd–79ab: *etac cūrṇaṃ tu saṃyojya bhūrje gṛhya varānane // māhendramaṇḍalaṃ likhya tanmadhye nāmam ālikhet.* ("He should collect this powder on birch-bark, oh Varānanā. He should draw a square and write the [target's] name in its centre.")

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mantra-syllables (*bīja*) and the syllables of the target's (*sādhya*) name are installed."[37] A figurine of a jackal is also to be made out of clay.[38] The hide of a jackal serves as a blanket for the *sādhaka*.[39] The image of the target is to be perfumed.[40]

Although some passages of chapter five of the BraYā are still difficult to interpret, some general observations can be made on the *yantra*-descriptions it gives, providing that all of them are to be taken as individual rituals. They involve fire-offerings, some involve geometric patterns, transgressive and non-transgressive substances, ashes produced in inauspicious circumstances, images/figurines of the target, as well as some materials such as birch-bark to draw the target's figure, to write the target's name and to write mantra syllables on. These rituals aim at magical powers, mainly of black magic. What many of these descriptions seem to leave out, however, is geometric linear designs. Even when there are *maṇḍala*s, i.e. squares, triangles and hexagons mentioned, they seem marginal, and they do not seem to be inseparable parts of all the *yantra*-rituals given here. For instance the *adreśīkaraṇa* and *dṛṣṭyapahāra* rituals, as well as the *utkrānti*-type ones and the *svacchandasiddhi* seem to be devoid of any geometric patterns. In contrast, fire-rituals and drawn figures of the target or figures (e.g. of jackals) fashioned out of clay seem to be emphasised. To sum up: geometric patterns do appear but seem to be optional in the *yantra*-rituals of BraYā chapter five. Alternatively, one could say that the appearance of the term *yantra* in this chapter has no intrinsic connection with geometrical patterns or drawing.

In harmony with the above, in BraYā 45.369–370ab, the word *yantra* seems to refer to magical rituals in general. After a list of various

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[37] See this observation by Shaman Hatley and more details on this section in the BraYā in *Tāntrikābhidhāna* 3 at entry *parakāyapraveśa*.

[38] *tābhir eva mṛdābhis tu śṛgālasyākṛtis tathā / kārayet sādhako devi nātra kārya vicāraṇāt.*

[39] *śṛgālacarmam āvṛtya ātmanaś ca samantataḥ.*

[40] *dhūpayet pratimāṃ tena ātmānaṃ mantravigraham.*

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ṣaṭkarman-type magical procedures, the text states that "these *yantras* will definitely work."[41] This may suggest that the magical procedures themselves are the *yantras*. An even clearer indication that the term *yantra* can be used in the BraYā in a very wide sense is found in BraYā 4.803–804ab. Here various kinds of seeds are taught to be auspicious for making rosaries (*akṣasūtra*)[42] from for various purposes: "Putranjiva Roxburghii and lotus seeds are used [for rosaries] in all *yantras* (*sarvayantreṣu*). Both are used in various kinds of installation ritual (*vinyāsa*). They bestow all *siddhi*s. In subjugation etc. *yantra* rituals (*vaśyādiyantrakarmeṣu*), coral is praised."[43] This passage suggests that rosaries can be integral parts of a *yantra,* which thus should probably carry a meaning wider than just a geometric drawing used in a ritual. Likewise, the word *yantra* is probably used as a synonym of 'magical ritual' in BraYā 4.828–830ab. Here a list of magical rituals is given (*vaśya, ākarṣaṇa, stambha*[*na*] etc.), and the text states that in these cases one should move the beads of the rosary (*karṣaṇa*) with the index-finger.[44] One item on this list is *jayayantra,* which then

[41] BraYā 45.369–370ab (all names of rituals should probably be in the nominative): *śāntikaṃ puṣṭikaṃ caiva mṛtyuñjayavidhis tathā / kopapraśamane* [em. ; *koṣa°* Cod.] *caiva tathā nigaḍabhañjane / yantrāṇy etāni sidhyante vidhinānena* [eme. ; *°ānyena* Cod.] *nānyathā.* For interpreting the locatives as nominatives, see the parallel BraYā 45.414cd–415: *śāntikaṃ pauṣṭikaṃ caiva mṛtyuñjayavidhis tathā // kopaḥ prasanenaiva nigaḍabhañjanam eva ca / yantrāṇy etāni sidhyanti kalpayāgena mantriṇām.*

[42] That this section is on *akṣasūtras* is clear from BraYā 4.793ab: *adhunā sampravakṣyāmi akṣasūtrasya lakṣaṇam.* ("Now I shall teach you the characteristics of the rosary.")

[43] BraYā 4.803–804ab: *putraṃjīvakapadmākṣo sarvayantreṣu yojitau / vinyāsabhedavinyastau sarvasiddhipradāyakau // vaśyādiyantrakarmeṣu prabālākhyaṃ praśasyate.*

[44] BraYā 4.828–830ab: *vaśyākarṣaṇapiṇḍāhve stambhe nigaḍabhañjane / śāntike puṣṭike caiva mṛtyuñjayavidhau-s-tathā // melake jayayantre ca nijasainyasya rakṣaṇe / kopaḥ-prasamanai caiva kṣudrakarmeṣu yat subhaṃ // tarjanyāyāḥ prakartavyam akṣasūtrasya karṣaṇaṃ.*

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does probably not designate merely a magical drawing but should be, similarly to the other items, a complex magical ritual ("magical ritual for victory"). Note that the list starts with *vaśya*, similarly to the list referred to as *vaśyādiyantrakarmans* ("*yantra* rituals beginning with subjugation") in the passage quoted above on *akṣasūtras*. This confirms that the whole list in 4.828–830ab is a list of *yantra*[-ritual]s.

'*Yantrārūḍha*'

The short seventh chapter of the BraYā[45] describes the goddesses' forms when "they are mounted on *yantras* (*yantrārūḍha*)."[46] Does this contradict any claim that *yantras* have a wider range of meaning in the early chapters of the BraYā than just small mantra-inscribed geometric diagrams?[47] Should the goddesses be drawn/installed on geometric mantra-designs? The chapter in question avoids any reference to drawing. These descriptions seem to refer to visualisation, which of course does not exclude the possibility of *yantras* having (visualized) geometric patterns. The text starts with a slightly obscure statement: *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi svadhyānaṃ devatāni tu / rūpalakṣaṇakarmaṃ ca sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai.* This was probably meant to say the following: "And now I shall teach you the visualisation (*-dhyāna*) of all goddesses (*devatāni* for pl. gen.) one by one (*sva-*) as well as their forms/colours (*rūpa*) and attributes (*lakṣaṇa*) and rituals (*karmaṃ* for *karma*) for the benefit of *sādhakas*." The following passages are then indeed

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[45] Folios 47r to 47v.

[46] BraYā 7.11ab: *etā devyaḥ samākhyātā(ṃ) yantrārūḍhā[ḥ] svarūpakaiḥ / karmakāle manuṣyeṣu yojitavyās tu sādhakaiḥ.* ("This is how the Devīs are taught when mounted on *yantras* in their natural forms. They are to be connected to people by the *sādhakas* at the time of ritual.")

[47] On "early chapters of the BraYā", see Hatley 2007: 206–211, especially 210–211: "As a working hypothesis, I would suggest that the core of the old text consists of much or most of *BraYā* I–XLIC, to which, in the next stage, material from chapters L–LXXXIII was incorporated. The final stage of redaction is probably represented by the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*, chapters LXXIV–CI."

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about visualisation (*dhyāna*) rather than drawing.[48] But in this case, how can *yantrārūḍha* be interpreted? Should the deity be visualized in/on an actual or visualized *yantra*?

The phrase *yantrārūḍha* occurs in a number of texts. Its most well-known occurrence is *Bhagavadgītā* (BhG) 18.61: the Lord makes all living beings move/wander (in *saṃsāra*) as if they were (helplessly) attached to a *yantra*.[49] This is interpreted by some commentators as a simile: living being are like puppets moved by a puppeteer.[50] In *Kubjikāmatatantra* (KMT) 15.33, in a similar verse, the phrase that qualified the object in the BhG now qualifies the subject (*śivaḥ... yantrārūḍhas*): Śiva makes the whole world wander when he is on a *yantra*.[51] Heilijgers-Seelen (1994: 111 n. 58) points out the similarity between the BhG and the KMT passages, and remarks that two MSS of the KMT, and the MS of the *Laghvikāmnāya,* which is probably "closer to the (oral) original of the Kubjikāmatatantra"[52] reads *yantrārūḍhaṃ,* which then agrees with the object (*jagat sarvaṃ*). I propose that *yantrārūḍhaṃ* might be the 'original' reading and that the verse means: "He, Śiva, the highest Lord dwells in the hearts of all beings. He makes the whole world go round by his magic (*māyā*) as if people were (helplessly) attached to a machine/were puppets."[53]

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[48] See visualization (*dhyāna*) mentioned also in e.g. BraYā 7.7cd–7.8ab: *indīvarakarā devyā dhyātavyā[ḥ] siddhikarmaṇi // jvālāmālā[ḥ] karālinyā dhyātavyā[ś] cchedane tathā.*

[49] BhG 18.61: *īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ hṛddeśe 'rjuna tiṣṭhati / bhrāmayan sarvabhūtāni yantrārūḍhāni māyayā.* Quoted in Kṣemarāja's commentary ad SvT 12.82 and Kṣemarāja's commentary ad *Netratantra* 22.25.

[50] E.g. Viśvanātha: *yathā sūtrasañcārādiyantram ārūḍhāni kṛtrimāṇi pāñcālikārūpāṇi sarvabhūtāni*; Baladeva: *yathā sūtradhāro dārvyantrārūḍhāni kṛtrimāṇi bhūtāni bhrāmayati tadvat.*

[51] KMT 15.33: *sa śivaḥ sarvasattvānāṃ hṛdisthaḥ parameśvaraḥ / bhrāmayeta jagat sarvaṃ yantrārūḍhas tu māyayā.*

[52] Heilijgers-Seelen 1994: 6, quoting Schoterman.

[53] The critical edition of the KMT "is based mainly on ten manuscripts, the oldest of which are from the first half of the 12th century A.D." (Heilijgers-Seelen 1994: 4). By the 12th century, when *yantras* with diagrams

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The same corruption, probably brought about by the redactors'/copyists' familiarity with *yantra*-diagrams, may have entered the MSS of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* (MaSaṃ), a 13th-century Śaiva yoga text. In MaSaṃ 22.19, "Śiva on a *yantra*" is said to make the whole world go round by his magic until he is united with Śakti.[54] This makes even less sense than the version in the KMT, and by applying an emendation of the above type (*viśvaṃ yantrārūḍhaṃ*), the verse yields perfect sense: until Śiva is united with Śakti (in a yogic sense), he will make the whole world go round by his magic as if the world were attached to a machine/were a helpless puppet. In fact, the *Yogasārasaṃgraha*, a text that contains a great number of verses that are parallel with the MaSaṃ, has *yantrārūḍhaṃ* in the same verse.[55] In BraYā chapter eight, the same change from accusative to nominative may have taken place. In BraYā 8.17, a chapter on *samādhiyojana* and *yantra*s (see below), the goddesses attract humans (*karṣayanti... mānavān*) in magical rituals (*trāsane kampane...*) when mounted on *yantras*.[56] By emending the text,[57] a slightly more convincing meaning emerges: the goddesses attract humans as if humans were just helpless puppets.[58]

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were well-known parts of tantric practice, a small corruption like this could easily have creeped into the text. Compare *Lakṣmītantra* 30.57: *dhāryate bhrāmyate caiva yantrārūḍham idaṃ param / nābhikandasthitenaiva sahasrāreṇa neminā.* ("This whole world is held and moved [around as if] mounted on a machine with a thousand-spoked felly at the bulb of the navel.")

[54] MaSaṃ 22.19: *yāvan na saktyā saṃyogaṃ prāpnoti parameśvaraḥ / tāvad bhramayate viśvaṃ yantrārūḍhas tu māyayā* (f. 40v).

[55] Line 4424 in the electronic version at muktabodha.org, accessed on 6 May 2014.

[56] BraYā 8.17: *trāsane kampane caiva bhayabhede tathaiva ca / karṣayanti mahābhāgā yantrārūḍhās tu mānavān.* ("In the Frightening, Trembling and Break of Fear [rituals], the fortunate ones attract humans when mounted on *yantras*.")

[57] Emend *yantrārūḍhās* to *yantrārūḍhān*, or *yantrārūḍhāṃs*, or to *aiśa* pl. acc. *yantrārūḍhāṃ*.

[58] Note also that *-st-* ligatures in the old Nepalese MS of the BraYā (such as in *yantrārūḍhās-tu*) may perhaps be interpreted as unusual *-mt-* ligatures,

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Thus, some of the above occurrences of the term *yantrārūḍha* may not refer to *yantra*s as magical diagrams at all. Nevertheless, the situation in BraYā chapter eight in general, and the situation concerning the term *yantrārūḍha* in chapter seven in particular, could be different and it seems that *yantra* in chapter seven could only be interpreted correctly in the context of the closely connected chapter 8, in which phrases similar to *yantrārūḍha,* such as *yantrayukta,* occur. BraYā chapter 8 seems partly to be dealing with magical *yantra*s (rituals?),[59] this time focusing on visualization, and the end of this chapter is still ambiguous: it may or may not refer to *yantra*s as mantric or geometric designs.[60] Visualization here involves the target being imagined as being terrified and naked in the middle of a group of goddesses and his body as being pierced by flag-staffs.[61] The goddesses should perhaps be visualized as arranged in patterns,[62] and this might well be what is meant

which then supports the emendation to *yantrārūḍhām*. See more on this possibility of *-mt-* ligatures in the old Nepali MS of the BraYā in Kiss 2015: 77.

[59] BraYā 8.1 (f. 43v): *athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi karmasiddhividhānataḥ/ samādhiyojanaṃ caiva yantrāṇi ca pṛthak pṛthak.* ("Now I shall teach you the application of *samādhi* and the *yantra*s one by one, with reference to the rituals and [resulting] *siddhi*s.")

[60] BraYā 8.39: *dehalītalanirviṣṭā yantrārūḍhās tu yojayet / roṣaṇe karṣaṇe caiva preṣaṇe cāvalokane* [corr. *cāvalokaṇe* Cod.] / *yantrayuktā*[*ḥ*] *prasidhyanti bhairavasya vaco yathā.* ("[The goddesses] should be employed as being on the threshold, mounted on *yantra*s. In [rituals of] Anger, Attraction, Sending Away, and Glance, they succeed as attached to *yantra*s. This is Bhairava's teaching.")

[61] 8.24cd–25ab: *tāsāṃ madhyagatāṃ sādhyaṃ dhvajair āhatadehajam* [*-kam*?] *// udvignaṃ nagnam udbhrāntaṃ calamānaṃ vicintayet.* ("He should visualize the target as being in the centre of [the circle of] them, his body as pierced by flag-staffs, frightened, naked, agitated, trembling.")

[62] BraYā 32cd–34ab: *dhvāṅkṣarūpyāṃ nyased devyo avadhūtatanusthitaḥ // āgneye nairite caiva pavane īśagocare / sādhyamadhyagataṃ caiva vidiśāṃ kiṅkarī nyaset // tatrārūḍhā*[*ḥ*] *smared devyo dūtyas caiva mahādhipe.* ("He should install the goddesses as having crow-forms, while his body is covered with the mantras of Avadhūtā. At the SE, SW, NW, and NE intermediate points

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by *yantra* in this chapter, and *yantrayuktā* in 8.39c may simply mean something along the line of 'arranged in *yantra*-patterns,' although evidence is weak in this case.

Before switching from the BraYā's *yantras* to other texts, the following may be added. That *yantras* in the BraYā are complex rituals rather than mantra-inscribed geometric designs are also hinted at in BraYā 20.22 in the context of regulations for fire-pits (*kuṇḍa*). In some magical rituals including the *jayayantra*, a pentagonal fire-pit is prescribed.[63] This suggests that fire-offerings are integral parts of a *yantra*, and that a *yantra* should be the magical process itself. In contrast with this, in BraYā 51 ('*yantrādhikāra*'), which probably belongs to a slightly later textual layer than the first half of the text (the first '*ṣaṭka*'),[64] *yantras* emerge as technical terms for drawn diagrams[65] with mantras and geometric designs, in the fashion that is seen in later *tantras*.[66] Chapter 68 lists inks, materials and pens which can

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of the compass, he should install the Kiṅkarīs as being in the target[?]. He should visualize the goddesses and the Dūtīs, oh Mahādhipā, as mounted there.")

[63] BraYā 20.22 (f. 97v): *bhāgyasambhavike caiva nijasainyasya rakṣaṇe / pañcakoṇaṃ samākhyātaṃ jayayantre tathaiva ca.* ("In the Luck-producing [ritual], in the Protecion of One's Own Army, as well as in the Victory Yantra, the pentagonal fire-pit is recommended.")

[64] BraYā 51.6 (f. 219r): *ṣaṭke tu prathamaṃ* [-*e*?] *deva khyātaṃ karmasahasrakaṃ / khecarīṇāñ ca sarvvāsā bhūcarīṇāñ ca sādhanaṃ.* ("Oh God, in the first Ṣaṭka, a thousand rituals have been taught, as well as the mastery over all the Khecarīs and Bhūcarīs.") See also n. 47.

[65] BraYā 51.17cd–18 (f. 219v): *śmasānakarppaṭe bhūrjje likhed yantraṃ yathā śṛṇu / varggātītaṃ caturthena yuktaṃ tejavyavasthitaḥ / tena saṃpuṭitaṃ nāmaṃ niyojyan tu dalāṣṭake.* ("He should draw/write the *yantra* on rags from the cremation ground or birch-bark. Listen how it should be done. [The syllable] beyond the classes of the alphabet [KṢA, see Kṣemarāja's commentary ad SvT 2.52] should be joined with the fourth [letter, ī] on the fire[-syllable, RA] [i.e. KṢRĪṂ]. He should enclose the [target's] name between [two of] this [syllable] on an eight-petalled [lotus].")

[66] See also BraYā 102.30ab (f. 358r): *likhitaṃ tiṣṭhate yantra gṛhe deśe mahātmane.* ("*Yantras* are drawn in homes and in [outdoor?] places, oh

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be used for *yantra*s, and this can be in harmony with any *yantra*-teachings in the better-known sense of the word. These signs may confirm that the BraYā is a multi-layered text with chapters from different periods of time.

Yantra in the *Pāśupatasūtra*

Occurences of the term *yantra* in Śaiva texts that are probably earlier than the BraYā include the Atimārgic[67] *Pāśupatasūtra* (PS) 4.9:[68] *asanmāno hi yantrāṇāṃ sarveṣām uttamaḥ smṛtaḥ*. If the alternative reading in the *sūtrapāṭha* (*jantūnāṃ* for *yantrāṇāṃ*)[69] is ignored, as it is in Kauṇḍinya's commentary, the line can be interpreted thus: "For dishonour[70] is taught to be the best of *yantra*s." Kauṇḍinya comments: "*Yantra*s are [rituals] such as *agniṣṭoma*, [observances] such as a month's fast. They bring purity and prosperity to the householder and others."[71] Kauṇḍinya adds that *yantra*s are called thus because they are either *karman*s (rituals) and such (*yantraṃ karmādayaḥ*, the reading of the edition)[72] or because they are 'restrictions' (*yantraṃ maryādā*, Minoru Hara's emendation in Hara 1966: 357).[73] The latter

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Mahātmanā." [Note the *aiśa* stem form *yantra* and the vocative *mahātmane*.])

[67] See n. 3.

[68] Or 4.7, see Bisschop 2006.

[69] See Bisschop 2006.

[70] The Pāśupatas were required to fake madness and thus receive abuse from ordinary people. "By this means the Pāśupata provoked an exchange in which his demerits passed to his detractors and their merits to him." (Sanderson 1988: 665.)

[71] *Pāśupatasūtra* p. 100: *yantrāṇi agniṣṭomādīni māsopavāsādīni ca gṛhasthādīnāṃ śuddhivṛddhikarāṇi.*

[72] *Pāśupatasūtra* p. 100.

[73] 'Restriction' is Hara's translation, Hara 1966: 357 n. 1. Note also *Atharvaveda* 6.81, which mentions *yantṛ*, *maryāda*, and probably an amulet/ring/bracelet: *yantā́si yáchase hástāv ápa rákṣāṃsi sedhasi / prajā́ṃ dhánaṃ ca gṛhṇānáḥ parihastó abhūd ayám // párihasta ví dhāraya yóniṃ gárbhāya dhā́tave / máryāde putrám ā́ dhehi tám tvám ā́ gamayāgame // yáṃ*

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is supported by Kauṇḍinya's next remark: "Since lay persons are without *yantras*, they have no limits/restrictions (*amaryādāvasthāḥ*): that is why [the text says] *yantras*."[74] What is relevant for us now is that *yantras* in the PS are probably rituals, observances, restrictions or rules that are auspicious for the practitioner, and they are far from being simple diagrams. This might mark a very early phase of the history of the term *yantra*. In the PS, the term might have originally been connected with transgressiveness: it hints at fake madness and dishonour.[75]

Other Śaiva texts

In the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (5–6th century),[76] arguably the earliest extant Śaiva *tantra*,[77] and in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, the term *yantra* is rarely used and the contexts in which it is used seem inconclusive. In the *Svacchandatantra* (SvT), magical procedures that resemble the *yantra*-rituals of both the BraYā and of later texts appear, but the term *yantra* is used only when

parihastám ábibhar áditiḥ putrakāmyā́ / tváṣṭā tám asyā́ ā́ badhnād yáthā putráṃ jánād. ("Thou art a grasper [*yantā*], holding fast both hands: drivest fiends away. A holder both of progeny and riches hath this Ring [*parihasto*] become. / Prepare accordantly, O Ring [*parihasta*], the mother for the infant's birth. On the right way bring forth the boy. Make him come hither. I am here. The Amulet [*parihastam*] which Aditi wore when desirous of a son, Tvashtar hath bound upon this dame and said, Be mother of a boy." transl. by Ralph T.H. Griffith.)

[74] *Pāśupatasūtra* p. 100: *yasmād ayantrā laukikā amaryādāvasthā bhavantīty ato yantrāṇi*.

[75] It is also worth mentioning that Kauṇḍinya's commentary uses a similar term, *yantraṇa*, in the sense of 'intentness, mindfulness, discipline, withdrawal of the senses'. See Minoru Hara's translation of Kauṇḍinya's commentary ad PS 3.12 and 5.21 (Hara 1966).

[76] See Goodall 2007 and 2015: 32 (forthcoming).

[77] See Goodall 2015: 13 (forthcoming).

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referring to devices or machines, e.g. *ikṣuyantra* (sugar-mill, 10.52d)[78] and *ghaṭayantra* (water-mill, 11.82d).[79] Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the SvT applies the term *yantra* when referring to magical practices in the SvT with or without geometric patterns. One instance where he does label that did not necessarily involve drawings originally as *yantra*s is SvT 9.62–64ab:

evaṃ parivārasthabhairavāṣṭakādyantasthakapālīśavidyārājāśrayeṇa rakṣāvidhānena mṛtyujayam uktvā, prasaṅgāt karmāntarasiddhim api yantrakrameṇādiśati devaḥ /

śikhyāhvena tu deveśi sādhyanāma vidarbhayet /
analārṇam adhaś cordhve sādhyārṇeṣu niyojayet //SvT 9.62//

[Translation:] Having thus taught the Mṛtyujaya [ritual] in the form of a protection ritual involving Kapālīśa, the king of *vidyā*s [i.e. the Navātman mantra],[80] who dwells among the eight Bhairavas and their retinues etc., the God incidentally teaches the magical powers of yet another ritual through a *yantra* procedure: O Deveśi, he should tie together [in writing] the target's name with the [mantra] called Śikhin. He should bind the syllable of Fire [RA] underneath and above the syllables of the target['s name] //SvT 9.62//

śikhyāhvena śikhivāhanamantreṇa pūrvoktena / vidarbhayed iti 'abhidheyaṃ bhavet pūrvaṃ tato mantraḥ saṅkṛd bhavet' iti śāstrāntaroktasthityānuvinya stamantraṃ kuryāt, analārṇaṃ rephaḥ, tad ekaikatra sādhyanāmākṣaraṃ ūrdhvādho niyojayet / itthaṃ vidarbhitam etad āgneyamaṇḍalāntastha-vāyumaṇḍalasaṃsthitaṃ kuryāt, āgneyamaṇḍalaṃ trikoṇaṃ tadbahir vāyumaṇḍalaṃ ṣaṭkoṇaṃ vartulam. //9.62// etac ca yasya likhyate:

tasya vai jāyate dāhaḥ...

[Translation:] By "called Śikhin" the aforementioned Śikhivāhana mantra[81] is meant. "tie together": following the instructions of another

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[78] It is actually a machine to torment people in hell, as Kṣemarāja explains: *yatra ikṣuvaj janāḥ pīḍyante.*

[79] *ghaṭayantram araghaṭṭaḥ*, as Kṣemarāja explains.

[80] Kṣemarāja ad SvT 9.53: *vidyārājaṃ navātmamantram.*

[81] Probably HRŪṂ. See SvT 1.77: *sānto bindur adho hy agniḥ ṣaṣṭhayuktas tu kārītaḥ / śikhivāhanasaṃjñas tu jñātavyo 'sau varānane.*

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śāstra on the position [of the mantras], which says that "the name is first, then the mantra should come immediately", he should install the mantra after [the target's name]. The "syllable of Fire" is RA. He should bind that [RA] above and under each syllable of the target's name. Being tied together thus, [the target's name] should be placed in a Wind-*maṇḍala* that is inside a Fire-*maṇḍala*. The Fire-*maṇḍala* is a triangle, the Wind-*maṇḍala* outside it is a circular[?] hexagon //9.62// [He] for whom it is written...

He will catch fire...

vāyvādhmātāgnidīpitatvād agnivarṇamadhyagatākṣaratvāt śikhivāhanavidarbhitatvāc ca //
kiṃ śikhivāhanavidarbhitamātram eva nāmāgneyamaṇḍalāntaḥ kriyate / na tanmātram eva kiṃ tu

...phaṭkārādyantarodhitam /

[Translation:] Because he will be consumed by fire fed by the wind, and because of the syllables [of the target's name] being enclosed by fire-syllables, and because they are joined with the Śikhivāhana mantra. Should the name be joined merely with the Śikhivāhana inside the Fire-*maṇḍala*? Not only [with that], but

[his name should be] locked within [two] PHAṬ-syllables.

phaṭkārāntaśikhivāhanabījavidarbhitam iti vyākhyānam asat, tathā vākyārthasyābhāvāt // etallekhanānantaraṃ ca mantranāthaṃ pūjayitvā, etaccakramadhyagatam eva
jvalantaṃ cintayet sādhyaṃ dinānāṃ saptakaṃ yadi //9.63//
tatkṣaṇāj jāyate dāho bhairavasya vaco yathā /

Kṣemarāja's commentary: *sāntaḥ h, tasyādho 'gniḥ r, ṣaṣṭhaḥ ūkāraḥ, bindunādādyupalakṣaṇaparaḥ.* ("[The syllable] after SA, a *bindu*, the Fire[-syllable] below it with the sixth [letter]: this is how it is taught. Oh Varānanā, this is to be known as the Śikhivāhana [mantra]. [Comm.:] [The syllable] after SA is H, below it the Fire[-syllable] is RA, the sixth is Ū, for which the *bindunāda* etc. is implied.")

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[Translation:] The interpretation "joined with the Śikhivāhana seed-mantra, which is inside [two] PHAṬ-syllable" is wrong because in this way the sentence is meaningless. Immediately after the writing he should worship the Lord of mantras. [He should visualize the target] as being in this very *cakra*:

> If he visualizes the target for seven days as being on fire, //9.63// the burning will start immediately. This is how Bhairava taught it.

In these passages, Kṣemarāja treats the SvT's verses as of an independent ritual and not of one connected to the previous one, which requires a 32-petalled *cakra*/lotus to be drawn.[82] He may or may not be right in this, but his addition that the target's name and the mantras should be placed inside geometric patterns might be more than what the SvT's redactor[s] intended. And note both that the SvT itself does not label this kind of practices as *yantra*s and that Kṣemarāja may be using the word *cakra* to refer to the mantra-syllables under and above, as well as before and after the target's name. This is in harmony with his definition of *yantracakra* cited above: *yantracakraṃ viśiṣṭasaṃniveśalikhito mantrasamūhaḥ* ("a collection of mantras written in a particular pattern"). It may also be significant that Kṣemarāja labels the above cited ritual as *yantrakrama* ('*yantra* procedure'), perhaps suggesting that a *yantra* can be a ritual rather than merely an object.

Similarly to the above cited SvT verses, *Tantrasadbhāva* 14.69–76ab describe a *yantra* without mentioning any geometric designs:

athānyat sampravakṣyāmi vidyā caiva yathoddhṛtā /
oṃ cāmuṇḍe khukhaḍhiḍhaḍhaṃ niśācāri
KHAKHAPIÑCCHAṂ VĀRIṆI VICCE SVĀHĀ /
kevalaṃ mūlam ālikhya lāñchitaṃ tilakena tu //
punar eva mahāvīra śikharaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ nyaset /
vāmaṃ ca śikharaṃ nyasya padasyānte vyavasthitāḥ //
punar eva nyaset sādhyaṃ bhūyo mantraṃ samālikhet /
punaḥ paścāl likhen mantrī sādhyaṃ ca tadanantaram //
anyonyagranthitā bījā-d-bhūrjapatre samālikhet /

[82] SvT 9.50cd: *dvātriṃśadarasaṃyuktaṃ cakram ālikhya bhāmini.* ("Oh Bhāminī, he should draw a 32-spoked *cakra*.")

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āvṛtya bhūrjapatre [-aṃ?] tu hṛdisthaṃ kārayed budhaḥ //
adhasyāt kārayet sādhyaṃ sādhakaṃ copari sthitam /
chardirājyākṛtiṃ kṛtvā rocanāyā samālikhet //
mṛṇmaye pātrake caiva sthāpya yatnena saṃpuṭe /
chardirājyā punaś caiva paścān nicchidra kārayet //
prayatnena mahāyogī jalamadhye nidhāpayet /
yadi kruddho bhaven mantrī tatkṣaṇād vaśam ānayet /
eṣa devi mahāyantraḥ kulamārgagato bhuvi //

[Tentative translation:] And now I shall teach you another *vidyā*-mantra as it should be extracted: OṂ CĀMUṆḌE KHUKHAḌHIḌHAḌHAṂ NIŚĀCĀRI KHAKHAPIÑCCHAṂ VĀRIṆI VICCE SVĀHĀ. He should write down only the root[-mantra, i.e. probably OṂ CĀMUṆḌE] and he should decorate it with a *tilaka*[-mark]. Then the great hero should place the right-side *śikhara* [ŚA][83] and the left-side one [VA] after the word. Then he should place down the target['s name] and write down the mantra again. Then again the mantra master should write the target['s name] immediately after it. He should write down the seed-mantras tied together on birch-bark. The wise one should fold the birch-bark, and keep it on his chest [as an amulet]. The target should be below, the *sādhaka* above[?]: [this is how] he should fashion figure[s] with *chardirāji*[?][84] and draw with yellow pigment. Then he should put it into a clay pot, into a bowl. Again, he should fill in the holes with *chardirāji*. The great yogi should place it in water carefully. Whenever the practitioner gets angry, the target will be subjugated. This is [famous] on earth as the Great Yantra of the Kula Path.

Although not all details are clear to me at this point, it seems that this passage resembles some of the BraYā's *yantras* in the following

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[83] Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.112: *rasamadhyagatas tadvad akṣarau dvau śubhātmakau / śikharau tu smṛtau bhadre vāmadakṣiṇagau śubhau.* "Similarly, the two auspicious syllables between RA and SA [in the alphabet, RALA-VA-ŚA-ṢASA] are called Śikharas, O Bhadrā. These two auspicious ones go on the left and right." These two *akṣaras* would give us *vaśa* left to right, which would be typical in subjugation rituals: *vaśaṃkuru/vaśīkuru* ("Be subjugated!"). The passage above seems to require the practitioner to write down these two syllables the other way round: ŚAVA ("corpse"), which may or may not be what was intended.

[84] For the obscure '*chardirāji/yā*' cf. BraYā 5.69cd (and 5.77ab): *chardirājīkṛto lepaḥ trailokyaṃ-mukhabandhanam.* ("An ointment made from *chardirājī* takes the three world's breath away.")

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characteristics: it teaches very little or no linear geometric patterns, it requires the *sādhaka* to draw/make an image/figurine of the target, to make an amulet, it involves mantras and rituals, and the whole process is labelled as *yantra*. Indeed, even when geometric designs are prescribed for a *yantra* in a relatively early Śaiva text, it may seem, as I have suggested above, that the term *yantra* denotes the whole process, the ritual itself, rather than an object.

In *Jayadrathayāmala* 1.20.43ab, a *yantra*-description, which includes, among other things, instructions to draw eight-petalled lotuses, ends thus: "...this *yantra* should be performed/done by the wise for three days."[85] Although this is again inconclusive, it suggests a wider range of meanings for the term *yantra* than just a drawn magical diagram/amulet.[86]

The *Netratantra* (NT),[87] on which some of Sanderson's definitions are based,[88] probably marks a new phase in the usage of the term *yantra*. Here magical diagrams with geometric designs, and ones to be worn around the neck, are sometimes referred to as *yantras*,[89] and the terms *cakra* and *yantra* are probably used synonymously. Brunner has already brought up the possibility that *cakra* can be a synonym for *yantra*, but

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[85] *Jayadrathayāmala* 1.20.43ab: *tasmād dinatrayaṃ kāryaṃ yantram etad vipaścitā.*

[86] Note also the masculine gender of *yantraḥ* here.

[87] Dated to AD 700/800–850 in Sanderson 2004: 293.

[88] He refers to NT chapters six (Sanderson 2004: 244–245 cited in n. 8 above), seventeen ("The Yantra taught in the 17th [chapter of the NT] will bestow victory on kings who are under attack from beyond their borders and should be used at all times to protect the king's wives, his sons, brahmins and others." Sanderson 2004: 246), and nineteen (Sanderson 2004: 290 n. 149 cited in n. 9 above).

[89] E.g. NT 6.7cd (*yantrāṇi mohanādīni mantrarāṭ kurute bhṛśam*) may refer to a description of geometric designs in NT 6.28-34 (labelled *cakra*), and NT 19.208–211ab mention *yantras* as objects worn around the neck (*likhitair yantrayogair vā pūjitaiḥ suprayatnataḥ / veṣṭitaiḥ kaṇṭhasaṃlagnaiḥ sūtrakair vāsitādikaiḥ* ("With drawings/written [mantras] used in *yantras*, which are worshipped zealously, wrapped up and worn around the neck using thread, perfumed etc.")

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her doubts about it are also very revealing.[90] There might be a tendency in the NT to use the word *yantra* mostly for such magic(al diagrams) that control or hurt others, or at least for the ones that are somewhat dangerous or transgressive. In this respect, it is notable that the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (NṢA, alias *Vāmakeśvarīmata*), a text that "clings to the edge of the Śaiva canon,"[91] and is abundant in magic and magical diagrams, mentions the term *yantra* only twice, while the commentator Jayaratha (13th century, see Sanderson 2007a: 418–419) repeatedly[92] uses it for magical rituals and diagrams labelled by the NṢA as *cakra*s. One of the two occurrences of *yantra* in the NṢA refers to a device (a trench?) to protect or hold back somebody.[93] The other (*yantravarṇapuṭīkṛtam*, 2.36b) is inconclusive ("enclosed between magical syllables"?). *Yantra* does not seem to have been a significant term for the author(s) of the NṢA.

Conclusions

Dating Śaiva tantric texts is notoriously difficult,[94] thus to outline the early history of the term *yantra* is a challenging task, but at the same

[90] "Just as those other machines bearing the same name, the ritual yantra is first an ingenious instrument. [...] Finally, cakra is frequently used as a synonym for yantra, though we cannot always tell if this practice is due to a lack of rigour in the vocabulary or to a change of perspective. In those cases, the author may be talking of cakra to refer to the mass of the divinities that are present, or to their configuration, while using the word yantra to refer to the use of the object. But more research than what I was able to do would be necessary to arrive at a convincing conclusion on this point." (Brunner 2003: 163.)

[91] Sanderson 1988: 689.

[92] E.g. *yantraprayogam āha* (ad NṢA 2.55), and *evaṃ māntraṃ prayogam uktvā yāntram api āha* (ad NṢA 2.7) vs. *cakrayogena* in NṢA 2.33c.

[93] NṢA 2.26: *ākṛṣṭahṛdayāṃ naṣṭadhairyām uttīrṇajīvitām / vapraprāk āraniviḍanadīyantrasurakṣitām* [*ānayen nārīm*]. ("[He should attract a woman by magic] as if her heart were drawn, as if her firmness were gone, as if her life were saved from imprisonment behind a river *yantra* thick as a rampart.")

[94] See e.g. Sanderson 2013: 213.

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time it could help us dating the texts. All in all, some general tendencies can perhaps be observed and outlined in a preliminary fashion. I can see these major phases in the history of *yantra*s:

1. In passages that have nothing to do with magic or magical diagrams (even in those incorporated in chapters on magical *yantra*s), a *yantra* is usually a machine, a device, an apparatus, a bolt etc.

2. In the pre-tantric *Pāśupatasūtra* as explained by Kauṇḍinya, a *yantra* is a ritual, observance or restriction. In the *Pāśupatasūtra* itself it might imply some transgressiveness (dishonour, fake madness).

3. In early scriptures of the Siddhānta, magical *yantra*s are seldom mentioned, as Brunner has already observed (Brunner 2003: 162).

4. In some early Śaiva *tantra*s, such as the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and the Trika *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the term *yantra* does not seem to be present in any significant form. In the *Svacchandatantra*, the term is not used to label a magical ritual or object, either.

5. In early chapters of the *Brahmayāmala*, and in some passages of the *Tantrasadbhāva*, a *yantra* seems to be a term for a complex magical procedure, usually of the black and transgressive, or at least dangerous, type, not necessarily involving any geometric designs but usually involving transgressive substances, fire-offerings, the use of rosaries, and images or figurines of the target.

6. *Yantra* emerges as a term for magical diagrams with geometric designs and for amulets in the *Netratantra*, possibly as a synonym (or counterpart?) of *cakra*.

7. In some later texts such as the *Kubjikāmatatantra*, which draws extensively on the Trika and is thus later than it,[95] and the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* (13th century), while *yantra*-diagrams with

[95] Sanderson 2002: 1.

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drawn patterns may appear, the phrase *yantrārūḍha* may have been misinterpreted by redactors/copyists who supposed that a *yantra* is usually a magic diagram.

8. Even for Kṣemarāja in the early part of the 11th century, a *yantra* (*cakra*) can simply be interpreted as "mantras in a particular pattern", perhaps without any drawing. Nevertheless, he tends to add geometrical patterns to descriptions of mantric arrangements, perhaps to "update" them.[96]

9. Later probably this latter usage of the term, which treats *yantras* as mantra-inscribed magical objects, prevails.

The question of early *yantras* is obviously in need of much more research. Nevertheless, the examination of the usage of the term *yantra* in *tantras* may give us another tool to date our texts, a fundamental process to get to know more about the religious history of mediaeval India.

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[96] And he himself sometimes cites texts in which a *yantra* is clearly an object with drawn geometrical patterns, e.g. ad NT 16.34: *kakārapuṭayor madhye yasya nāma samullikhet / tadbāhye vahnibhavanaṃ rephāṣṭakavibhūṣitam // likhitvā sthāpayed yantraṃ kapālobhayasaṃpuṭe [...] ityādiyantrayuktyā ca śrīkulārṇavoktayā...*

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Brahmayāmala. NGMPP microfilm reel no. A 42/6; NAK 3-370. Palm-leaf, 358 folios. Dated (Sunday (*ādityadina*), the 8th of Māgha, waxing fortnight, Nepal *saṃvat* 172 = Sunday, 12 January, 1052 AD.) Scribe: Jayākarajīva, a resident of the Paśupatinātha temple area of Kathmandu. For further details on this and the other MSS, see Hatley 2007:287. I made extensive use of Shaman Hatley's superb transcript of the *Brahmayāmala*, for which I am very grateful.

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Sandhyā Worship in the 14th Century Pāñcarātra: Theory and Practice?[1]

SUMMARY: In his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, Veṅkaṭanātha states that a Pāñcarātrin is not obliged to follow the prescriptions of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, but can also follow those of the Vedic Sūtras when performing *sandhyā* worship. The paper tries to clarify the meaning and background of this statement by presenting and comparing various *sandhyā* prescriptions—from Veṅkaṭanātha himself, from Vedic Sūtras, and from several Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās—and it investigates the question of whether this statement gives us insight into the relationship between theory and practice of *sandhyā* worship in Veṅkaṭanātha's lifetime.

KEYWORDS: Veṅkaṭanātha, Vedāntadeśika, *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, Pāñcarātra, *sandhyā* worship

Researchers of religious history must be aware of the fact that their main sources, namely texts, are usually normative and describe ideals. It is often difficult or even impossible to find out to what extent they were put into practice or if they had any social relevance, when we are not lucky enough to have information about their reception history.

Sometimes, however, a normative text can indeed offer a glimpse of the religious practice of its time, even if not always in the way its author had intended. An example for this is a statement of Veṅkaṭanātha in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, which I will examine in the present paper.

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[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Elisa Freschi for her valuable remarks and to Katharine Apostle for suggesting various stylistic corrections of the English manuscript.

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Veṅkaṭanātha was a famous philosopher and theologian of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta who lived in the 13th and 14th centuries. He was also a Pāñcarātrin, which means that his religion was the Pāñcarātra, a Hindu tradition that worships Viṣṇu as supreme God.[2]

Veṅkaṭanātha wrote many works, among these the *Pāñcarātra-rakṣā*, in which he defended, as its title says, the tradition of Pāñcarātra. Veṅkaṭanātha's aim was to show that the Pāñcarātra is an authoritative tradition from the point of view of the Vedic orthodoxy, that is, that the Pāñcarātra scriptures do not contradict the Vedic texts. In particular, he sought to show that the typical Pāñcarātric daily routine, the so-called *pāñcakālikadharma*, which in his opinion all Pāñcarātrins are obliged to practice,[3] does not contradict the prescriptions of the Vedic orthodoxy, and in this context he described this routine from getting up in the morning up to going to bed at night in great detail.

The passage that I would like to discuss follows a detailed description of the *sandhyā* rites (see pp. 240ff.), the "twilight rites" performed in the morning, evening and sometimes also at noon[4]. It runs as follows:

> "Even if with regard to the [*sandhyā* ritual] three different kinds of *sandhyā* worship are described in the various [Pāñcarātra] Saṃhitās, namely, that related to the seers (*ārṣī*), that related to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavī*), [and] that related to Prajāpati (*prājāpatyā*), it is nevertheless proper to perform the *sandhyā* worship and other [rites] only as prescribed by one's Sūtra (1) because it is difficult to know these various modes [of *sandhyā* worship], as the largest portion of these Saṃhitās is lost, (2) because a tradition of proper instruction and performance even of the various modes of *sandhyā* worship that are seen in their entirety in Saṃhitās such as the *Pārameśvara* or the *Parama* is not established, [and] (3) because it is established that even if performed according to the Sūtras [the *sandhyā* worship] has the form of the worship of the Venerable One, since there is no insistence on giving up something that was adopted before because the *saṃskāra*s and

[2] For a general overview on the tradition of Pāñcarātra see, for example, Rastelli 2011.

[3] On the *pañcakāla* rites cf. Rastelli 2000 and Rastelli 2006: 62–91.

[4] Cf. Kane II/1: 312f.

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> the established rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that are taught by one's own Sūtra are approved in the Saṃhitās of the Venerable One's body of teachings (*bhagavacchāstra*) themselves."[5]

In this passage, Veṅkaṭanātha says that although the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās contain prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship, a Pāñcarātrin is not obliged to follow these prescriptions, but can also follow only the prescriptions of his own Sūtras.

This seems to be quite an extraordinary statement: For Pāñcarātrins, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are the most authoritative texts. Veṅkaṭanātha devotes the entire first chapter of this PRR to the proof that the Pāñcarātra and its scriptures are authoritative and a valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). So why is it not necessary to follow their prescriptions?

The first reason Veṅkaṭanātha gives seems satisfactory: It is difficult to know what the Saṃhitās' prescriptions enjoin with regard to the various types of *sandhyā* rites that are known[6] because

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[5] PRR 110,5–12: *tatra yady apy ārṣī vaiṣṇavī prājāpatyeti trividhāḥ sandhyopāstibhedās tattatsaṃhitāsūcyante, tathāpi tāsāṃ saṃhitānāṃ lupta-prāyatvena tattatprakārāṇāṃ durjānatvāt pārameśvaraparamasaṃhitādiṣu paripūrṇadṛśyamānasandhyopāsanaprakārabhedānām api yathāvadupadeśānuṣṭhānapāramparyāsiddheḥ, bhagavacchāstrasaṃhitāsv eva svasūtroktasaṃskārācārābhyanujñānāt prathamaparigṛhītaparityāge nirbandhābhāvād yathāsūtram anuṣṭhāne 'pi bhagavatsamārādhanarūpatvasiddheḥ svasūtravihitam eva sandhyopāstyādikaṃ kartum ucitam.*

[6] I could not find a passage in any Saṃhitā that describes forms of the *sandhyā* bearing exactly the three names mentioned by Veṅkaṭanātha. A list that comes close to that of Veṅkaṭanātha's is that of NārS 11.64 which mentions three forms of *sandhyā* called *brāhmī*, *daivī* and *vaiṣṇavī* ("Then he should piously worship the *brāhmī sandhyā* with devotion after having sipped water, then he should worship the *daivī sandhyā* and the *vaiṣṇavī sandhyā*.", *tatas tu prayato brāhmīṃ sandhyām ācamya bhaktitaḥ | daivīṃ sandhyām upāsīta vaiṣṇavīṃ tadanantaram* ‖). However, the meaning of these three *sandhyā*s performed consecutively is not clear.

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most of them are lost. This is comprehensible: if one does not have the prescriptions, one cannot follow them.

But Veṅkaṭanātha's second reason already shows that there are Pāñcarātra prescriptions for the *sandhyā* rites that are entirely extant. However, he says, there is no tradition that properly teaches or follows these prescriptions. According to Veṅkaṭanātha, there is a divergence between theory and practice, to put it in the terms of the topic of the present volume.

Before we examine the third reason, we have to properly understand the alternative to the Saṃhitās' prescriptions. What does it mean if Veṅkaṭanātha says that a Pāñcarātrin should follow the prescriptions of his Sūtra? Are there specific Pāñcarātra Sūtras? No, there are not.

Although the Pāñcarātra presented itself, at least in its early days, as an alternative to the Veda,[7] there was a particular point in its

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The *Pārameśvarapadyavivṛti* (17,14f.), a commentary on the PārS by Nṛsiṃhayajvan (18th century, see preface p. 4 of the edition of the PārS), mentions three forms of the *sandhyā* that are probably identical with those mentioned by Veṅkaṭanātha: *prājāpatyārṣavaiṣṇavasandhyā* (em.; *prājāpatyāṣṭavaiṣṇavasandhyā* ms.) *tu yeṣu prastutavaiṣṇavakramam upadiśati*, "He teaches the mentioned *vaiṣṇava* procedures (?) among which are the *prājāpatya*, *ārṣa* and *vaiṣṇava sandhyā*". He mentions these forms while commenting on PārS 2.96c–108 (see below p. 265f) but it is not clear if certain elements described in this passage refer to one of these specific forms of *sandhyā*. Possible candidates are the *jalāñjali* for sages (*vibudha* =? *ṛṣis* and therefore the *ārṣa* form?, PārS 2.98c–99b) and that for Hari (= Viṣṇu > *vaiṣṇava* form?, PārS 2.100c–101b), but it is not clear what would refer to *prājāpatya*.

The *Somaśambupaddhati* (I, pp. 45ff.) describes three forms of *sandhyā* called *brāhmī*, *vaiṣṇavī*, and *raudrī*. They are performed in the morning, at noon, and in the evening consecutively. In the first case, the Sandhyā, which is considered a deity, is worshipped as the goddess Brāhmī with a particular appearance, in the second case as Vaiṣṇavī, and in the third case as Raudrī. There is no evidence that forms of that manner are meant in the context of Pāñcarātra.

[7] The seers (*ṛṣi*) that are often described in the *śāstrāvatāra* stories at the beginning of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are an example for this.

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history when some of its followers did not consider the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and the Vedic texts to be contradicting alternatives but rather perfectly compatible with each other. Stories like that contained in the *Pādmasaṃhitā* probably contain an aspect of truth. This story tells about a group of Brahmins headed by Aupagāyana and belonging to the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina branches of the White Yajurveda, who were initiated into the Mantrasiddhānta, a sub-tradition of the Pāñcarātra, by Brahmā. Brahmā gave them the instruction to continue to study their Vedic texts and to continue to perform their Vedic rites but these rites should be "connected with the visualisation of Viṣṇu" (*bhagavaddhyānasahita*) and "characterised by His worship" (*tatsamārādhanātmaka*), meaning rites that are modified in comparison to the original Vedic orthodox ritual and that are devoted exclusively to Viṣṇu.[8] It is difficult to say when such persons belonging both to the Pāñcarātra and to a Vedic school first appeared in history but the earliest evidence is probably Yāmuna's *Āgamaprāmāṇya* from the 10th/11th century.[9] Veṅkaṭanātha himself certainly belonged to a group following the prescriptions of both the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and the Vedic Sūtras, and such a group is his target audience.

Veṅkaṭanātha's third reason says that to perform the *sandhyā* rites following the Vedic Sūtras' prescriptions is in accordance with the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās' prescriptions because the Sūtras meet the requirements of the Saṃhitās, namely that the *sandhyā* worship should have the form of the worship of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. In addition, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās do not insist that a devotee should give up his adherence to the Vedic prescriptions but approve these. Subsequently, Veṅkaṭanātha quotes several passages from the Pāñcarātra

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Although these seers have usually studied the Veda and perform Vedic rites, they are not successful in reaching their aims and ask for another means of doing so (which is later presented to them in the form of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā, e.g. JS 1.7–18b, ParS 1.3–6).

[8] PādS *cp* 21.2c–12; cf. also Rastelli 2006: 229–242 and Rastelli 2003.

[9] Cf. Rastelli 2006: 218f.

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Saṃhitās and works of the tradition's teachers in order to corroborate this argument.

Thus, at first view, Veṅkaṭanātha's statement gives us the impression that the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās' prescriptions for the *sandhyā* rites were pure theory at his time and that the living practice was the performance of *sandhyā* worship according to the Vedic Sūtras. But could this be true? Is there a way to find out if this is true? And: what is actually the difference between the Pāñcarātric and the Vedic orthodox manner of *sandhyā* worship? Let us first answer the last question and examine the nature of both kinds of *sandhyā* worship.

The *sandhyā* According to Veṅkaṭanātha

In detail, Veṅkaṭanātha describes *sandhyā* worship at sunrise; *sandhyā* worship at sunset is described only in comparatively short passages (PRR 150,1-152,4; 164,3–165,8). According to his own description, it consists of the following sub–rites:

snāna	"Having bathed in such a manner [and]
ūrdhvapuṇḍra	having applied the *ūrdhvapuṇḍras*,[10]
tarpaṇa of the deities, seers, ancestors	he should, as a part of the bath, satiate[11] the deities, seers and ancestors, who have the nature of the Venerable One,
ācamana	sip water,[12]
mantraprokṣaṇa	sprinkle [himself while reciting] mantras,[13]

[10] The *ūrdhvapuṇḍras* are marks applied on the forehead and parts of the body with white clay or another substance; cf. TAK1 s.v. *ūrdhvapuṇḍra*, Rangachari 1930: 56f.

[11] Satiating the deities etc. means offering libations of water to them.

[12] Sipping water (*ācamana*) serves as a means of ritual inner purification. For descriptions of how to perform it see, e.g., Kane II/1: 315f. or Bühnemann 1988: 104–107.

[13] For this meaning of the term *mantraprokṣaṇa* cf. BaudhDhS 2.7.2:"... sprinkle his body with water while reciting the following: the Surabhimatī verse,

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mantrācamana	sip water [while reciting] mantras,
prokṣaṇa	sprinkle [himself] again,
svātmapariṣecana	sprinkle [water] around himself in the manner that has been taught by his Sūtra and his [Pāñcarātra] Saṃhitā.
arghyadāna	Then he should offer a form of *arghya* that consists of water over which the *gāyatrī* (cf. n. 14) has been recited to the Supreme Self (*paramātman*) that is present in the sun. With regard to this, Pitāmaha taught Sanatkumāra that throwing the water *añjali* [should take place] three times: 'Being well concentrated he should take water with both hands, recite the *tāra*, the *vyāhṛtis* and the *gāyatrī*[14] over the water, and, standing with his face directed towards the sun, throw [it] upwards three times at the two *sandhyās*.' (quotation unidentified)
pradakṣiṇā	Then he should walk around from left to right in order to shake off the malefaction of driving away the Rākṣasas called Mandeha[15] who are hit by the water of the [*arghya* offering] as it has become a thunderbolt.

the Abliṅga verses, the Vāruṇī verses, the Hiraṇyavarṇa verses, the Pāvamānī verses, the Calls, and other purificatory formulas." (… *sūrabhimatyābliṅgābhir vāruṇībhir hiraṇyavarṇābhiḥ pāvamānībhir vyāhṛtibhir anyaiś ca pavitrair ātmānaṃ prokṣya.* Translation by Olivelle 2000: 267). For the detailed performance of *prokṣaṇa* and the subsequent *pariṣecana* in the context of the *sandhyā* see Rangachari 1930: 61 (with other mantras than those prescribed by the BaudhDhS).

[14] The term *tāra* designates the mantra *oṃ*. The seven *vyāhṛtis* are *oṃ bhūḥ, oṃ bhuvaḥ, oṃ svaḥ, oṃ mahaḥ, oṃ janaḥ, oṃ tapaḥ, oṃ satyám.* The wording of the *gāyatrī* is: *oṃ tát savitúr váreṇyaṃ bhárgo devásya dhīmahi | dhíyo yó naḥ pracodáyāt* ||. The wording of the *gāyatrīśiras* is: *oṃ ā́po jyótī ráso 'mṛ́taṃ bráhma bhū́r bhúvaḥ súvar oṃ* (TaittĀ 10.27).

[15] Kane II/1: 314 gives information about the "Rākṣasas called Mandeha": "Among the earliest references to Saṁdhyopāsana is the one in the Tai. Ār. II.2, where it is said that when brahmavādins facing the east throw up water consecrated by the Gāyatrī, the evil spirits that fight with the sun are sent tumbling into the country (called) Mandeha Aruṇa (of the evil spirits)." and he adds that later sources consider *mandeha* as the name of these Rākṣasas (*ibid.*). In addition to the sources mentioned by Kane one could mention Rām 4.39.36–37, MBh *14.4.1566–1567, ViṣṇuPur 2.8.49–52.

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tarpaṇa of the lords of the months	He should satiate Keśava and the other lords of the months[16] starting with Mārgaśīrṣa with their respective mantra.
prāṇāyāma	He should perform three breath controls in the manner taught by [the verse]: 'Controlling his breath he should recite the *gāyatrī* together with the *vyāhṛtis*, the *praṇava* (i.e., *oṃ*) and the *śiras* three times. This is called breath control.'[17]
invitation and	He should invite[18] the *gāyatrī*
recitation of the *gāyatrī*	and recite the *gāyatrī* 1008, 108 or 10 times according to one's abilities. (…)[19]
recitation of the *aṣṭākṣaramantra*	At the right moment at *sandhyā* [worship], the Venerable eight-syllable-mantra[20] that has been taught by the Śrī-vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra such as '(…)' also has to be recited according to one's abilities.
	Bodhāyana[21] and others declare that the *gāyatrī* should be recited 1000 times, together with breath control 100 times, and together with the special combination of *praṇava* and *vyāhṛtis* 10 times.[22] (…)[23]

[16] The names of these deities are Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, and Dāmodara. Sometimes this series starts with Viṣṇu (cf. below, p. 272 and Rastelli 2006: 348–361).

[17] This verse can be found, for example, in BaudhDhS 4.1.28, VasDhS 25.13, *Viṣṇusmṛti* 55.9.

[18] The *gāyatrī* is considered a goddess here. She is invited before being recited. Einoo (1993a: 203f.) also describes that the goddess Gāyatrī was invited and worshipped before reciting it during a *sandhyā* ritual he observed in Mithilā 1987 and 1988, and an invitation of Gāyatrī during *sandhyā* worship is also prescribed in *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* 1.2.2. Note that in PRR 109,10 (see below) Gāyatrī is asked for permission to worship God in the solar disk. However, it is not clear why she has to be asked for that.

[19] The passage that is skipped here contains quotations about the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the *aṣṭākṣaramantra*.

[20] *oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*, cf., e.g., PādS *cp* 25.

[21] Cf. BaudhDhS 2.7.5–8.

[22] PRR 106,1–107,12: *evaṃ snātaḥ kṛtordhvapuṇḍraḥ snānāṅgaṃ bhagavadātmakadevarṣipitṛtarpaṇaṃ kṛtvā, ācamya, mantraprokṣaṇa-*

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prāṇāyāma	Having recited the *gāyatrī* until sunrise in this way, standing with his face eastwards or north-eastwards according to the Smṛti 'facing north-east [or] north-west'[24], he should perform three breath controls as before,
saṃkalpa	formally declare[25] [to perform] the *sandhyā* worship,
anujñāpana	ask the *gāyatrī* for permission (cf. n. 18) by means of the mantra *uttame śikhare* (MNārU 343–344),
upasthāna	worship the Venerable One being present in the solar disk by means of the mantras that are taught by his own Sūtra,

mantrācamanapunaḥprokṣaṇasvātmaparişecanāni svasūtrasaṃhitoktaprakāreṇa kṛtvā, gāyatryābhimantritajalam ādityāntaḥsthitāya paramātmane 'rghyarūpaṃ dadyāt. atra jalāñjaliprakṣepas trir iti sanatkumārāya pitāmahaḥ prāha—"ubhābhyāṃ toyam ādāya hastābhyāṃ susamāhitaḥ | gāyatryā cābhimantryāpas tāravyāhṛtipūrvayā | raver abhimukhas tiṣṭhann ūrdhvaṃ triḥ sandhyayoḥ kṣipet ||" iti. tato vajrībhūtatajjalanihatamandehākhyarakṣonirasanapāpmāvadhūnanārthaṃ pradakṣiṇaṃ prakramya, mārgaśīrṣādimāseṣān keśavādīn tattanmantreṇa tarpayitvā, "savyāhṛtiṃ sapraṇavāṃ gāyatrīṃ śirasā saha | triḥ paṭhed āyataprāṇaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ sa ucyate ||" ityuktaprakāreṇa prāṇāyāmatrayaṃ kṛtvā, gāyatrīm āvāhya, aṣṭottarasahasram aṣṭottaraśataṃ yathāśakti daśavārāṃ vā gāyatrīṃ japet. (...) iti śrīvaiṣṇavadharmaśāstroktaśrīmadaṣṭākṣarajapo 'pi yathāśakti sandhyāyām avasare kāryaḥ. prāṇāyāmena śatakṛtvaḥ praṇavavyāhṛtisambhedaviśeṣeṇa daśakṛtvo gāyatrījapaṃ sahasratulyaṃ bodhāyanādayaḥ smaranti.

[23] The passage that is skipped here describes variations concerning the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the *aṣṭākṣaramantra* such as the position one can assume while reciting, the place at which one can recite, how the number of recitations can be counted, etc

[24] The source of this quotation is not yet identified. The quotation seems to contradict Veṅkaṭanātha's statement. Probably, however, Veṅkaṭanātha refers only to the morning while the quotation speaks about the morning and the evening. According to Kane II/1: 314, "the morning *saṁdhyā* is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest".

[25] On the declaratory formula (*saṃkalpa*) that usually precedes rituals according to the Dharmaśāstric rules see Michaels 2005.

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namaskāra for Sandhyā, etc.	bow down to the five [deities] Sandhyā, etc.,[26]
pradakṣiṇā	who have the nature of the Venerable One and walk around from left to right,
abhivādana and *praṇāma* for God present in the heart	respectfully salute and bow down to the Supreme Self who is present in the heart as has been learned by [the statement]: 'He who is in the human being and he who is in the sun is the same',[27]
optional: *praṇāma* for the cardinal directions, etc.	and if there is a tradition of instruction and performance by one's own ancestors of also bowing down to the cardinal directions, etc., he should also bow down to these, connected with the realisation that [these] have the nature of the Venerable one. (…)[28]
tarpaṇa of *ādhāraśakti*, etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors	Then he should realise that the *ādhāraśakti* and the other [constituents of God's throne][29] up to [His] retinue and the deities, the seers and the ancestors have the nature of the Venerable One and satiate them with their respective names preceded by the *praṇava*.
wringing out the bathing cloth	At a pure place he should wring out [his] bathing cloth,
ācamana	sip water

[26] Five deities beginning with Sandhyā are also mentioned in *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati sāmānyapāda* 9.140. Unfortunately, I was not able to find out the names of the other four deities.

[27] TaittU 2.8 (in the original without *sa* at the beginning).

[28] The passage skipped here contains a quotation corroborating what has been said by Veṅkaṭanātha.

[29] For the constituents of God's throne see Rastelli 2002.

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samāhāra of mantras	and draw back[30] the invited *tīrtha* and the mantras into himself."[31]

The sources of Veṅkaṭanātha's prescriptions

If we consider Veṅkaṭanātha's statement quoted on pp. 236f, we could conclude that his prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship are based on Vedic Sūtras. If we examine the pertinent Sūtras, however, the case is not so clear.

First of all, the prescriptions for *sandhyā* rites in the Vedic Sūtras are not uniform. Prescriptions for *sandhyā* rites in the form we talk about in this paper can be found only in texts complementary to the Gṛhyasūtras, such as Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa texts and some Dharmasūtras. The Śrautasūtras and most of the Gṛhyasūtras describe different forms of morning and evening rites and for another performer, namely for

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[30] If mantras were placed on the devotee's body, an object or a place during a ritual, they have to be drawn back when the ritual is completed. Before the devotee takes his bath he makes a holy bathing place (*tīrtha*) present at his bathing place, also by means of mantras. These mantras also have to be drawn back at the end of his bath (see JS 9.25–32 and 58–60, Rastelli 1999: 201f. and 207; I could not find a passage in the PRR which describes making a *tīrtha* present at the devotee's bathing place).

[31] PRR 109,7–110,4: *evam āsūryodayāt "pūrvottarāśābhimukhas tv aparottaradiṅmukhaḥ" ityādismṛtyanusāreṇa prāṅmukhaḥ prāgudaṅmukho vā tiṣṭhan, gāyatrīm āvarttya, pūrvavat kṛtaprāṇāyāmatrayaḥ, sandhyopasthānasaṅkalpapūrvakam "uttame śikhare" iti mantreṇa gāyatrīm anujñāpya, svasūtroktair mantrair ādityamaṇḍalāntasthitaṃ bhagavantam upasthāya, sapradakṣiṇaṃ bhagavadātmakasandhyādipañcakanamaskāraṃ kṛtvā, "sa yaś cāyaṃ puruṣe yaś cāsāv āditye sa ekaḥ" ity adhītaṃ hṛdayāntasthitaṃ paramātmānam abhivādya praṇamya, digādinamaskārāṇām api svapūrvapūrvopadeśānuṣṭhānapāramparyam asti cet tatrāpi bhagavadātmakadhyānapūrvakaṃ praṇamet.* (...) *tata ādhāraśaktyādipārīṣadāntān devarṣipitṝṃś ca bhagavadātmakān dhyātvā, praṇavapūrvakais tattannāmabhiḥ santarpya, śucau deśe snānavastraṃ niṣpīḍya, ācamya, āvāhitatīrthaṃ mantrāṃś ca svātmani samāharet.*

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the *brahmacārin* instead of for the *gṛhastha*. Further, if the Gṛhyasūtras describe *sandhyā* worship it is usually much simpler than the form we discuss here.[32]

So Veṅkaṭanātha's sources could be Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa texts or Dharmasūtras. One Dharmasūtra that he mentions at least once in our context is that of Bodhāyana.[33] The *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* contains a chapter on *sandhyā* worship (2.7) and, subsequently, chapters on the bath and libations (2.8–9). As the table below shows, the BaudhDhS's prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship and the bath overlap in some aspects. They give the impression of describing two independent procedures that partly consist of the same elements rather than two consecutive sequences.[34] When we compare Veṅkaṭanātha's prescriptions with those of the BaudhDhS, we see that the former has parallels with the latter but that it also contains ritual elements that do not appear in the BaudhDhS.

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
snāna	bath or washing feet and hands (2)	washing hands, feet and body, entering the water (8.1–2)[35]

[32] For the evolution of *sandhyā* worship in the Vedic Sūtras see Einoo 1993a and 1993b. Cf. also Kane II/1: 312–319.

[33] See PRR 107,12. In addition, he quotes a verse that appears in the BaudhDhS among others in PRR 106,11f. (see n. 17).

[34] Govindasvāmin, the commentator of the BaudhDhS, presents the case as if BaudhDhS 2.8 was the description of the bath that is hinted at by the words *aprayato 'bhiṣiktaḥ* in 2.7.2 (cf. BaudhDhSV 233,20: "[He] taught: 'having bathed if he had been ritually impure'. Incidentally, he teaches the prescription for this." '[*a*]*prayato 'bhiṣikta' ity uktam. prasaṅgāt tadvidhim āha.*). However, it is not probable that a devotee first performs the procedure described in BaudhDhS 2.8 and then that described in BaudhDhS 2.7 because then the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the worship of the sun would be performed twice (which especially in the case of the latter is simply not possible: the sun rises only once a day).

[35] BaudhDhS 2.8.1–2: *atha hastau prakṣālya kamaṇḍaluṃ mṛtpiṇḍaṃ ca saṃgṛhya tīrthaṃ gatvā triḥ pādau prakṣālayate trir ātmānaṃ || 1 atha haike*

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PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
ūrdhvapuṇḍra		
tarpaṇa of the deities, seers, ancestors		
		añjali of water for one's own benefit and for the enemy's damage (8.4–5)[36]
		washing one's hands (*upasparśana*)[37] (8.6)
		whirling the water around three times with his hand in a clockwise motion (Olivelle 2000: 269) in order to banish evils[38] (8.6)[39]

bruvate | śmaśānam āpo devagṛhaṃ goṣṭhaṃ yatra ca brāhmaṇā aprakṣālya pādau tan na praveṣṭavyam iti ||. I do not give a translation of the BaudhDhS here in order to save space and because Olivelle's (2000) translation is easily accessible. If not indicated otherwise, my interpretation of the text follows Olivelle's translation.

[36] BaudhDhS 2.8.4–5: *athāñjalināpa upahanti | sumitrā na āpa oṣadhayaḥ santv iti* || 4 *tāṃ diśaṃ nirukṣati yasyām asya diśi dveṣyo bhavati | durmitrās tasmai bhūyāsur yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṃ ca vayaṃ dviṣma iti* || 5.

[37] Olivelle 2000: 269 understands *upaspṛśya* as "he washes himself" but Govindasvāmin glosses *upasparśanam* with *pāṇiprakṣālanam* (BaudhDhSV 236,19), which seems to be more probable at this stage of the procedure.

[38] The *añjali* of water and whirling water around seem to be parallels of the *arghyadāna* and the subsequent *pradakṣiṇa* in order to drive away Rākṣasas in PRR 106,3–9, as they also aim at enemies.

Whirling water around in a clockwise direction (*pradakṣiṇam*) could have been reinterpreted as walking around in a clockwise direction at some point in time. That Veṅkaṭanātha intends the latter meaning is without any doubt. *pradakṣiṇaṃ prakramya* (*v.l. parikramya*) hardly means whirling around. Also the reading of the edition of PādS *cp* 13.25d: *paribhramaṇam ātmanaḥ* instead of *parikramya pradakṣiṇam* in Veṅkaṭanātha's reading of the PādS (PRR 111,2) supports this interpretation.

[39] BaudhDhS 2.8.6: *athāpa upaspṛśya triḥ pradakṣiṇam udakam āvartayati | yadapāṃ krūraṃ yad amedhyaṃ yad aśāntaṃ tadapa gacchatād iti* ||.

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PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
		bathing and climbing back onto the bank (8.7, 8.10)
ācamana	*ācamana* (2)	*ācamana* (8.10)
mantraprokṣaṇa	sprinkling (*prokṣaṇa*) oneself while reciting various Vedic mantras (2)[40]	
mantrācamana		repeated *ācamana* (8.10)[41]
prokṣaṇa		
svātmapariṣecana		*mārjana*[42] while reciting various mantras (8.11)
arghyadāna		[cf. n. 38]
pradakṣiṇā		[cf. n. 38]
tarpaṇa of the lords of the months		
prāṇāyāma		3 *prāṇāyāma*s while standing in water, reciting the *aghamarṣaṇa* hymn (RV X.190) (8.11)
		climbing back onto the bank, wringing out the bathing cloth, putting on fresh clothes (8.11)
		ācamana (8.11)

[40] BaudhDhS 2.7.2: *tīrthaṃ gatvāprayato 'bhiṣiktaḥ prayato vānabhiṣiktaḥ prakṣālitapādapāṇir apa ācamya surabhimatyābliṅgābhir vāruṇībhir hiraṇyavarṇābhiḥ pāvamānībhir vyāhṛtibhir anyaiś ca pavitrair ātmānaṃ prokṣya prayato bhavati.*

[41] BaudhDhS 2.8.7 and 10: *apsu nimajjyonmajjya* || 7 (...) *uttīryācamyācāntaḥ punar ācāmet | āpaḥ punantu pṛthivīṃ pṛthivī pūtā punātu mām | punantu brahmaṇaspatir brahma pūtā punātu mām || yad ucchiṣṭam abhojyaṃ yad vā duścaritaṃ mama | sarvaṃ punantu mām āpo asatāṃ ca pratigrahaṃ svāheti ||.*

[42] Olivelle (2000: 271) translates *mārjayati* with "rubs his body with water". According to Kane II/1: 314, however, *mārjana* is "sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras". If we follow

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PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
recitation of the *gāyatrī*	1000 recitations of the *sāvitrī* (= *gāyatrī*) or 100 recitations with *prāṇāyāma* or 10 recitations of the *sāvitrī* together with *oṃ* and the *vyāhṛtis* (5–7)[43]	1000, 100, an unlimited number or 10 times of recitations of the *sāvitrī* (8.11)[44]
recitation of the *aṣṭākṣara-mantra*		
prāṇāyāma	3 *prāṇāyāmas* with the *brahmahṛdaya*[45] (8)[46]	
saṃkalpa		
anujñāpana		
upasthāna		worship of the sun (*upasthāna*) (8.12)[47]
namaskāra for Sandhyā, etc., *pradakṣiṇā*		

Kane's interpretation, *mārjana* would be a parallel of *svātmapariṣecana* in PRR 106,2–3.

[43] BaudhDhS 2.7.5–7: *darbheṣv āsīno darbhān dhārayamāṇaḥ sodakena pāṇinā pratyaṅmukhaḥ sāvitrīṃ sahasrakṛtva āvartayet* || 5 *prāṇāyāmaśo vā śatakṛtvaḥ* || 6 *ubhayataḥ praṇavāṃ sasaptavyāhṛtikāṃ manasā vā daśakṛtvaḥ* || 7.

[44] BaudhDhS 2.8.11: *pavitre kṛtvādbhir mārjayati | āpo hi ṣṭhā mayobhuva iti tisṛbhiḥ | hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakā iti catasṛbhiḥ | pavamānaḥ suvarjana iti | etenānuvākena mārjayitvāntarjalagato 'ghamarṣaṇena trīn prāṇāyāmān dhārayitvottīrya vāsaḥ pīḍayitvā prakṣālitopavātāny akliṣṭāni vāsāṃsi paridhāyāpa ācamya darbheṣv āsīno darbhān dhārayamāṇaḥ prāṅmukhaḥ sāvitrīṃ sahasrakṛtva āvartayec chatakṛtvo 'parimitakṛtvo vā daśāvaram* ||.

[45] *brahmahṛdaya* means reciting the mantra *oṃ bhūḥ oṃ bhuvaḥ* (cf. BaudhDhSV 228,18: *brahmahṛdayaṃ 'oṃ bhūḥ | oṃ bhuvaḥ' ity anuvākaḥ.*)

[46] BaudhDhS 2.7.8: *tribhiś ca prāṇāyāmais tānto brahmahṛdayena.*

[47] BaudhDhS 2.8.12: *athādityam upatiṣṭhate* (...).

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abhivādana and *praṇāma* for God present in the heart		
optional: *praṇāma* for the cardinal directions, etc.		
tarpaṇa of *ādhāraśakti*, etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors		*tarpaṇa* of various deities, seers, etc. (9.1ff.)
wringing out the bathing cloth		
ācamana		
samāhāra of mantras		

Thus, it is not probable that the BaudhDhS is the only source of Veṅkaṭanātha's prescriptions. As the BaudhDhS is much more elaborate with regard to *sandhyā* worship than most of the other Vedic Sūtras,[48] we can conclude that Veṅkaṭanātha does not rely on another Vedic Sūtra but rather on post-Vedic sources.

In fact, Veṅkaṭanātha himself presents us with another one of his sources when he quotes passages which corroborate his argument that the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās approve the prescriptions of the Vedic Sūtras. He quotes the *Pādmasaṃhitā*'s prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship, and when we compare these with Veṅkaṭanātha's presentations we see certain agreements in the procedures of the two.

PRR	PādS *cp* 13.23–28b	
snāna		
ūrdhvapuṇḍra		
tarpaṇa of the deities, seers, ancestors		
ācamana	*ācamana*	"Having sipped water,

[48] Cf. the sources quoted in n. 32. Another comparatively elaborate description of *sandhyā* worship is *Jaiminigṛhyasūtra* 1.13 (cf. Einoo 1993a: 227) but this is also not Veṅkaṭanātha's source.

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PRR	PādS *cp* 13.23–28b	
mantraprokṣaṇa	*prokṣaṇa*	he should sprinkle [his] body, which is endowed with mantras, with *darbha* water.
mantrācamana		
prokṣaṇa		
svātmaparişecana	*svātmaparişecana*	He should sprinkle water around himself over which the *gāyatrī* beginning with *om* has been recited
arghyadāna in order to destroy Rākṣasas	*salilāñjali*	and throw a water *añjali* up. At both twilights, Rākṣasas who wish to fight are destroyed, (23–24) as they are killed by the waters that have become a thunderbolt when driven forwards.
pradakṣiṇā in order to remove this malefaction	*pradakṣiṇā*	He should walk around from left to right, [which] is a rite of reparation for the injury. (25)
tarpaṇa of the lords of the months	*tarpaṇa* of *devas* and others	Then, having sat down, he should satiate the deities and other [beings], uttering their respective mantras.
prāṇāyāma		
invitation and		
recitation of the *gāyatrī*	recitation of the *sāvitrī*	Standing in the water, facing eastwards, he should recite the *sāvitrī*. (26)

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recitation of the *aṣṭākṣara-mantra*		
prāṇāyāma		
saṃkalpa		
anujñāpana		
upasthāna	*upasthāna*	Joining and holding out his hollowed open hands, he should look at the one dispelling darkness[49] until sunrise, worship him with mantras taught by his own *śākhā*,
namaskāra for Sandhyā, etc., *pradakṣiṇā*		
abhivādana and *praṇāma* for God present in the heart	visualising God in the heart	[him] who is to be visualised as being present in [his] heart. (27)
optional: *praṇāma* for the cardinal directions, etc.		
tarpaṇa of *ādhāraśakti*, etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors		
wringing out the bathing cloth		
ācamana		
samāhāra of mantras		
	salutation to teachers, etc.	He should respectfully salute the old teachers and Bhāgavatas in due order."[50]

[49] *timirāpaha*, "the one dispelling darkness", can designate the sun but also God who dispels the darkness of ignorance. Here, both are meant, God being present in the sun.

[50] PādS *cp* 13.23–28b (as quoted in PRR 110,15–111,7, variants given by the edition of the PādS are mentioned in parentheses): *ācamya prokṣayed*

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In order to summarise our results so far, let us look at the procedures of all three sources side by side.

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9	PādS *cp* 13.23–28b
snāna	bath or washing feet and hands	washing hands, feet and body, entering the water	
ūrdhvapuṇḍra			
tarpaṇa of the deities, seers, ancestors			
		añjali of water for one's own benefit and for the enemy's damage	
		washing one's hands	
		whirling the water around three times with his hand in a clockwise motion in order to banish evils	

darbhavāribhir (PādS *dehaṃ vāribhir*) *mantravattanum* (PādS *mantravittamaḥ, mantravit tanum*) | *oṃpūrvayā ca gāyatryā vāribhiś cābhimantritaiḥ* || 23 *ātmānaṃ pariṣicyordhvam utkṣipet salilāñjalim* | *yoddhukāmāni rakṣāṃsi sandhyayor ubhayor api* || 24 *śāmyanti tair vajrabhūtair* (PādS *vajrahatair, vajraghātaiḥ, vajrabhūtaiḥ*) *hatāni preritair* (PādS *hastābhipreritair*) *jalaiḥ* | *prāyaścittaṃ tu hiṃsāyāḥ parikramya pradakṣiṇam* (PādS *paribhramaṇam ātmanaḥ*) || 25 *tarpayed upaviśyātha tattanmantram udīrayan* | *devādīn salile tiṣṭhan sāvitrīṃ prāṅmukho japet* || 26 *yāvat sūryodayaṃ dṛṣṭvā prāñjalis timirāpaham* | *upasthāya svaśākhoktair mantrair dhyeyaṃ* (PādS *dhyāyan*) *hṛdi sthitam* || 27 *abhivādya gurūn vṛddhāṃs* (PādS *vṛddhān*) *tathā bhāgavatān kramāt* |.

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PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9	PādS *cp* 13.23–28b
		bathing and climbing back onto the bank	
ācamana	***ācamana***	***ācamana***	***ācamana***
mantraprokṣaṇa	sprinkling (***prokṣaṇa***) oneself while reciting various Vedic mantras		***prokṣaṇa***
mantrācamana		repeated *ācamana*	
prokṣaṇa			
svātmapariṣecana		***mārjana*** **while reciting various mantras**	***svātmapariṣecana***
arghyadāna in order to destroy Rākṣasas			*salilāñjali* in order to destroy Rākṣasas
pradakṣiṇā in order to remove this malefaction			*pradakṣiṇā* as a rite of reparation
tarpaṇa of the lords of the months			*tarpaṇa* of *devas* and others
prāṇāyāma		3 *prāṇāyāmas* while standing in water, reciting the *aghamarṣaṇa* hymn	
		climbing back onto the bank, wringing out the bathing cloth, putting on fresh clothes	
		ācamana	
invitation and			

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PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9	PādS *cp* 13.23–28b
recitation of the *gāyatrī*	**recitation of the *sāvitrī***	**recitation of the *sāvitrī***	**recitation of the *sāvitrī***
recitation of the *aṣṭākṣara-mantra*			
prāṇāyāma	3 *prāṇāyāmas* with the *brahmahṛdaya*		
saṃkalpa			
anujñāpana			
upasthāna		***upasthāna***	***upasthāna***
namaskāra for Sandhyā, etc., *pradakṣiṇā*			
abhivādana and *praṇāma* for God present in the heart			visualising God in the heart
optional: *praṇāma* for the cardinal directions, etc.			
tarpaṇa of *ādhāra-śakti*, etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors		*tarpaṇa* of various deities, seers, etc.	
wringing out of the bathing cloth			
ācamana			
samāhāra of mantras			
			salutation to teachers, etc.

All three sources have the following rites in common (printed in bold letters in the table): sipping water (*ācamana*), sprinkling oneself while reciting mantras (*mantraprokṣaṇa*), and sprinkling around oneself

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(*svātmapariṣecana*, *mārjana*) at the very beginning of the ritual procedure; and the two essential elements of *sandhyā* worship: the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the worship of (God in) the sun (*upasthāna*). Throwing an *añjali* of water in order to banish evils also appears in all three sources but in this respect the PRR has much more in common with the PādS than with the BaudhDhS. Both the PRR and the PādS say that this *añjali* of water destroys Rākṣasas because it becomes a thunderbolt. In both sources, the *añjali* of water is followed by walking around (*pradakṣiṇā*), which is considered a kind of reparation rite for the crime of killing other beings, and then, according to both sources, a libation for deities (even if not the same) is performed. Even if one can perceive some similarities to this in the BaudhDhS, too, such as aiming the *añjali* of water at enemies, these similarities are much less here.

The most striking similarities in the PRR and the BaudhDhS are the repeated sipping of water after the *mantraprokṣaṇa*, the sequence of three *prāṇāyāma*s, which appears twice in these sources but not at all in the PādS, and the libations (*tarpaṇa*) after the worship of (God in) the sun.

In conclusion, what do we know about the sources of Veṅkaṭanātha's description of *sandhyā* worship? We can be sure that Veṅkaṭanātha knew both sources, the BaudhDhS and the PādS, as he mentions them explicitly. However, we can also be sure that these two sources were not his only ones, as the sequence of *sandhyā* worship he describes also contains elements that cannot be found in the two sources.

In addition, one should be aware of two facts. The first is that out of the many prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship that one can find in texts (be it the Vedic Sūtras or the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which were examined in the context of the research for this paper), hardly any one equals another in every little detail. The normal case is that these prescriptions have certain ritual elements in common but deviate from each other in sequences and/or with regard to other ritual elements.[51]

[51] For Vedic Sūtras apart from those examined in this paper see, for example, *Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra* 1.25–28, *Kauṣītakigṛhyasūtra*

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This means that in practice, depending on the respective traditions, many versions of *sandhyā* worship were possible and valid. It is quite possible and even probable that Veṅkaṭanātha added another version of *sandhyā* worship to these many possibilities and did not depend on a single textual source for its description. What we know for sure is that Veṅkaṭanātha did not insist on using a specific source for the performance of the *sandhyā* worship, as he explicitly said that it is proper to perform such rituals as prescribed by the Sūtra of one's own Veda branch,[52] regardless which one.

The second fact is that a devotee does not learn the performance of a ritual such as *sandhyā* worship primarily on the basis of texts. The performance of rituals of such a kind is learned in practice. Little boys watch their male family members, imitate them, and finally, having grown up, perform their own ritual according to their observation.[53] They may pay lip service to a certain textual basis but their main source is the practical tradition they grew up in, which, perhaps even more easily than texts, can also be subject to evolution and change.[54]

2.6.3–4, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* 1.2.1–5, *Varāhagṛhyasūtra* 5 (p. 6,12–14), *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhyasūtra* 2.9.1–3, *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* 3.7.3–6, *Pāraskaragṛhyasūtrapariśiṣṭa Trikaṇḍikāsūtra* (see also Einoo 1993a: 226–236). Examples of *sandhyā* prescriptions from the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās apart from those examined in this paper are JS 9.42c–60b, SS 6.190–191 (> ĪS 6.81 and 83ab), PauṣS 41.57, NārS 11.58c–70b, ŚrīprśS 17.22–43b, MārkS 15.6, AnS 10.24–25, BBS 3.7.165–189, ParāśaraS 3.3–8b, 4.1–30, ŚeṣaS pp. 50,6–51,13, 176,3–21.

[52] PRR 110,11f., quoted on pp. 236f.

[53] Cf. Hüsken 2009.

[54] Cf., for example, Kane II/1: 315: "Modern writers went on adding details, e.g. it is now the practice in Deccan to repeat the 24 names of Viṣṇu at the very beginning of *saṁdhyopāsana*, but this is hardly anywhere prescribed by any Smṛti or early commentator." Cf. also Hüsken 2009: 205: "Although the ritual texts are always referred to as authoritative and ultimate 'source of tradition' by the performers themselves, the priest can deviate from the ritual rules given therein, at least to a certain extent."

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This means that it is possible that Veṅkaṭanātha's description did not rely only on textual sources, but also on practice or on practice as it should be in his opinion.

The *sandhyā* worship according to the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās

If Veṅkaṭanātha did not insist on a particular textual prescription for *sandhyā* worship, this does not mean that he considered any prescription as proper to be followed. As we have seen in the passage quoted on pp. 236f, he explicitly mentioned prescriptions of certain Saṃhitās, namely, the *Parama-* and the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, which he implicitly considered not proper to be followed because, as he argued, they have "no tradition of proper instruction and performance". Let us now examine what is so different in these *sandhyā* prescriptions.

The ParS, which is the earlier of the two texts,[55] contains several passages describing *sandhyā* worship. In chapter 3, two variants of *sandhyā* worship are described. One is a general form meant for all Bhāgavatas and one is to be performed by initiated persons.[56] The one to be performed by all Bhāgavatas is described as follows:

	"At early morning he should purge his bowels and silently wash [himself].
ācamana	At twilight, being pure he should sip water

[55] The PārS is based on several other Saṃhitās, among these, to a small extent, the ParS; cf. Rastelli 2006: 49 and 570f.

[56] Cf. ParS 3.57: "Now I will explain the rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that is always to be performed by Bhāgavatas. The daily rituals that are taught by the *śāstra* are called *ācara*." (*ācāram adhunā vakṣye kāryaṃ bhāgavatais sadā | ācāro nityakarmaiva śāstradṛṣṭaṃ prakīrtyate ||*) and ParS 3.69cd: "I will teach you the rules of conduct (samācāra) for initiated persons, o grandfather." (*dīkṣitānāṃ samācāraṃ vakṣye tava pitāmaha ||*).

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recitation of the *pañcopaniṣad*s	and recite the *pañcopaniṣad*[-mantras][57] one hundred times, one thousand times or ten times in times of distress.
worship of the sun	He should do homage to the sun [while reciting] the *kālamantra*
worship of the cardinal directions	and then to the cardinal directions [while reciting] their own mantra.[58]
recitation of the eight-syllable and the twelve-syllable mantra	Having become pure he should recite the eight-syllable mantra and the twelve-syllable [mantra].[59]
recitation of hymns	According to one's possibilities, one should daily recite hymns of praise and think of the God of gods at last."[60]

For initiated persons, *sandhyā* worship is described twice in ParS 3, once very briefly and the second time in more detail[61]:

[57] According to the ParS cosmology, the *pañcopaniṣanmantra*s constitute the subtle body (*sūkṣmaśarīra*) of God (ParS 2.29–34). Their wording is *oṃ ṣāṃ namaḥ parāya parameṣṭhyātmane namaḥ*; *oṃ yāṃ namaḥ parāya puruṣātmane namaḥ*; *oṃ rāṃ namaḥ parāya viśvātmane namaḥ*; *oṃ vāṃ namaḥ parāya nivṛttyātmane namaḥ and oṃ lāṃ namaḥ parāya sarvātmane namaḥ* (NG 182,17–20).

[58] The ParS passage describing these mantras is corrupt. Thus it is difficult to figure out their wording. Possibly the *kālamantra* is *oṃ haṃ kālāya namas*. The *diṅmantra* is possibly *oṃ haḥ digbhyo namas* (ParS 6.8–9 and 18cd).

[59] The eight-syllable mantra (*aṣṭākṣaramantra*) is *oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya* (e.g. PādS *cp* 25). The twelve-syllable mantra (*dvādaśākṣaramantra*) is *oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya* (eg. PādS *cp* 24).

[60] ParS 3.58–61b: *uṣaḥkāle malotsargaṃ kṛtvā prakṣālya vāgyataḥ | śucir ācamya sandhyāyāṃ pañcopaniṣadaṃ japet || 58 śatakṛtvaḥ sahasraṃ vā daśakṛtvo* [']*thavāpadi | bhāskaraṃ kālamantreṇa svamantreṇa diśo* (em., ed. *diśāṃ*) *kramāt || 59 namaskṛtvā śucir bhūtvā mantram aṣṭākṣaraṃ japet | dvādaśākṣaram evāpi yathāsambhavam anvaham || 60 stotrāṇi ca japitvānte devadevam anusmaret |*

[61] It is quite possible that these passages originally derive from independent sources and were used for compiling ParS 3.

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	"He should wash off the dirt with clay and water according to the *śāstra*.
touching the body	He should touch [his body (?) while reciting] the *viśva*[*mantra*],
ācamana	sip water [while reciting] the *puruṣa*-[*mantra*],
prokṣaṇa	sprinkle his head or his entire body [while reciting] the *parameṣṭhi*-[*mantra*][62],
recitation	perform *sandhyā* worship according to the prescription, recite [the *pañcopaniṣanmantra*s (?)] in due sequence,
formal declaration	formally declare [to perform *sandhyā* worship while reciting] the *mano*-*mantra*,
touching the sense organs	touch each sense organ [while reciting] the *ahaṃkāramantra*,
worship	salute respectfully the imperishable Supreme Self (*paramātman*)
	and touch a brown cow [while reciting] the *buddhimantra*. Having thought of the supreme Mantra, he should fulfill his worldly duties."[63]

[62] These mantras belong to the *pañcopaniṣanmantra*s; cf. n. 57.

[63] ParS 3.72–75: *malaprakṣālanaṃ kṛtvā mṛdbhir adbhiś ca śāstrataḥ | spṛṣṭvā viśvātmanā toyam ācāmet puruṣātmanā || 72 parameṣṭhyātmanā prokṣya śiras sarvāṅgam eva vā | sandhyām upāsya vidhinā japitvā ca yathākramam || 73 manomantreṇa saṅkalpya paramātmānam avyayam | spṛṣṭvāhaṃkāramantreṇa indriyāṇi sakṛt sakṛt || 74 abhivandyāmṛśed gāṃ ca kapilāṃ buddhividyayā | mantraṃ param anusmṛtya* ($ParS_{ms}$ p. 44, ed. *anuspṛśya*) *laukikaṃ kāryam ācaret* || 75. The line 74cd probably is a later interpolation because if we remove it we get the smooth formulation: *paramātmānam avyayam abhivandya*. Otherwise, *paramātmānam avyayam* lacks a verb, and *abhivandya* lacks an object. In the translation, however, I do not

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bath	"For purification he should bathe first and [then] perform a *mantra* bath. (83cd) Taking clay [while reciting] the *sarva*[*mantra*], he should purify the water by means of the *nivṛtti*[*mantra*]. He should invite the bathing place (*tīrtha*) and smear [his body while reciting] the *puruṣa*[*mantra*]. (84) He should bathe [while reciting] the *parameṣṭhi*[*mantra*][62].
ācamana	He should sip water again according to the rules.
prokṣaṇa	Having sprinkled [himself while reciting] the *pañcopanisad*[*-mantras*],
cleaning the body	he should clean his whole body. (85)
recitation of the *pañcopaniṣad*s with breath control	Standing inside the water he should recite the five mantras in the proper sequence. Having recited while performing breath control (*prāṇāyāma*) thrice, twice or once[64] and having bathed,
changing clothes	he should put on his clothes,
ācamana	sip water,

remove this line, but give the ritual sequence in the order that was probably intended by the interpolator

[64] The meaning of *vinayena* in the line *prāṇāyāmaiḥ tribhir dvābhyām ekena vinayena vā* is not quite clear. The word order suggests that the words *ekena vinayena* are one unit. Then *vinaya* would be a kind of synonym of *prāṇāyāma*. However, I am not aware of the usage of the term *vinaya* in this meaning. One could also understand *vinayena* as "in a controlled way". Then, however, the position of the word *vā* would be strange, even if one takes into consideration that word order in *ślokas* is usually not strictly regulated. The variant of PārS 2.87cd (≈ ParS 3.86cd): *prāṇāyāmais tribhir dvābhyām ekena niyatena vā* does not help in this case. *niyatena* could either be a synonym of *vinayena* in the sense of "in a controlled way" or it could mean "in a fixed [number]" (?).

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recitation of various *mantras*	turn eastwards and, holding *kuśa* grass in his hand [and] being concentrated, (86–87) recite the *paramahaṃsa* and the *praṇava*[65] (i.e. *om*) consisting of three syllabic instants one thousand or one hundred times, and [he should also recite] the twelve-syllable and the eight-syllable [mantras]. (88)
worship of God in the sun	He should worship the sun after having thrown a water *añjali* [while reciting] just these great mantras. And joining his hollowed palms, he should visualise the subtle, fiery supreme Lord as being present in the [solar] disk [while reciting] the *kāla*[*mantra*]
tarpaṇa of the deities, etc.	and, after that, he should satiate the deities with water in the proper sequence, (89–90) [namely,] Indra and the others, Viṣṇu and the others, Vāsudeva and the others, the twelve *mūrtis* and the *śaktis*[66] and the Supreme Self himself, (91) the elements earth and the others, the seers and the ancestors. The name in the accusative case at the beginning, then [the phrase] 'I satiate', (92) this is the mantra that is fitly declared for satiating.
	Having satiated [the deities], he should sip water again and go[67] to the place of worship."[68]

[65] As Czerniak-Drożdżowicz (2003: 191, n. 626) points out, these two mantras may only be used by initiated persons (see ParS 29.73c–74b). The wording of the *paramahaṃsamantra* (mentioned also in ParS 4.54–55, 84, 8.32, 23.41, 29.16) is not clear. One could think of the *haṃsamantra* (*so 'ham*, *Dhyānabindūpaniṣad* 61c–62b) but there is no evidence that this mantra is meant here. If one searches for the term *paramahaṃsa* in other Saṃhitās than the ParS, it appears most often meaning God's manifestation as supreme goose (JS 2.7, PādS cp 13.57, BhT 1.40).

[66] For all these deities see pp. 273f.

[67] *samā-√car* actually does not mean "to go" but rather "to perform". This, however, does not make sense with *yāgasthāna* as object. So I interpret it in the meaning of *√car* without prefixes.

[68] ParS 3.83c–93: *śuddhyarthaṃ prathamaṃ snātvā mantrasnānaṃ samācaret* || 83 *sarveṇa mṛdam ādāya nivṛttyā vāri śodhayet* | *viśvena tīrtham āvāhya puruṣeṇānulepayet* || 84 *parameṣṭhyātmanā snāyād ācāmed vidhinā*

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In addition, ParS 27 gives another short account of *sandhyā* worship in a kind of summary of rituals[69]:

ācamana	"(…) Afterwards he should sip water according to the prescriptions,
drinking, wiping the mouth	drink [water], wipe his mouth once, (7cd)
ācamana	sip water again,
ātmaprokṣaṇa	sprinkle himself according to the prescriptions,
ātmapariṣecana	then sprinkle water around himself
jalāñjali	and throw a water *añjali*. (8)
washing the hands	With regard to the *sandhyā* [worship] he should wash his hands with water again,
recitation of the *pañcopaniṣad*s	recite the five *mantra*s
pradakṣiṇā	and circumambulate God."[70]

punaḥ | pañcopaniṣadā prokṣya sarvagātraṃ viśodhayet || 85 *antarjalagato bhūtvā pañcamantrān kramāj japet | prāṇāyāmaiḥ tribhir dvābhyām ekena vinayena vā* || 86 *japitvā tu kṛtasnānaḥ paridhāyātha vāsasī | ācāntaḥ prāṅmukho bhutvā kuśapāṇiḥ samāhitaḥ* (em. [for a parallel see ParS 22.34b], ed. *kuśalaṃ nissamāhitaḥ*) || 87 *japet paramahaṃsaṃ tu trimātraṃ praṇavaṃ tathā | sahasraṃ śatavāraṃ vā dvādaśāṣṭākṣarāv api* || 88 *ādityam upatiṣṭheta pūrvaṃ muktvā jalāñjalim | etair eva mahāmantraiḥ kālena ca kṛtāñjaliḥ* || 89 *sūkṣmaṃ tejomayaṃ dhyātvā maṇḍalasthaṃ paraṃ prabhum | tarpayed devatāḥ paścād udakena yathākramam* || 90 *indrādīn viṣṇupūrvāṃś ca vāsudevādikān api | mūrtīr dvādaśa śaktīś ca paramātmānam eva ca* || 91 *pṛthivyādīni bhūtāni ṛṣīṃś ca pitṛbhis saha | ādau nāma dvitīyāntaṃ tarpayāmīti cottaram* || 92 *eṣa mantras tu nirdiṣṭaḥ tarpaṇe tu yathātatham | saṃtarpya punar ācamya yāgasthānaṃ samācaret* || 93

[69] Cf. ParS 27.2ab: "Look! I will give you a summary of the rituals." (*hanta te kathayiṣyāmi karmaṇāṃ saṃgrahaṃ tava* |).

[70] ParS 27.7c–9: *ācamya vidhivat paścāt pītvonmṛjya sakṛn mukham* || 7 *bhūya eva tathācamya prokṣyātmānaṃ yathāvidhi | ātmānaṃ pariṣicyātha visṛjet salilāñjalim* || 8 *sandhyām uddiśya bhūyo 'pi pāṇī prakṣālya vāriṇā | pañcamantrajapaṃ kṛtvā devasyāpi pradakṣiṇam* || 9.

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The PārS offers prescriptions for the *sandhyā* rituals within its description of the Pāñcarātric daily routine called *pañcakāla*s[71]:

touching the sense organs	"(…) He should cover his ears, eyes, mouth [and] nose in sequence with his fingers.
plunging into the water while reciting	Then he should plunge [into the water] while reciting the mantra and the *aṅga*[*mantra*s] (85) once or many times according to his ability.
visualisation of God within the body	He should visualise Hari, the God, as consisting of light, as being present in the lotus of the heart and in the place between the eyes. (86)
prāṇāyāma	In order to remove all malefactions he should perform 'sin-effacing' (*aghamarṣaṇa*) in this way (?) by means of three, two, one or a fixed number (?, cf. n. 64) of breath controls.[72] (87)
stepping out of the water, changing clothes, etc.	Afterwards he should rise up and perform [his rites (?)]. He should look at the solar disk—the one of great splendour (i.e. the sun) is a manifestation of the mantra[73]—step out of the water, (88) take off the bathing cloth, put on another cloth, then bind his tuft of hair while reciting the *śikhā*[*mantra*],

[71] For the role of the *pañcakāla* rites in the PārS see Rastelli 2006: 62–91.

[72] For the manner of the performance of the *aghamarṣaṇa* rite see Kane II/1: 317: "*Aghamarṣaṇa* (driving out sin) consists in taking water in the right hand formed in the shape of a cow's ear, holding it near one's nose, breathing out from the nose on the water (with the idea of driving away sin from oneself) to the accompaniment of the three verses '*ṛtaṁ ca*' (Ṛg. X. 190.1–3) and then casting the water away to one's left on the ground." If according to the PārS ṚV X.190 or another mantra is recited is not clear; see below (pp. 271f) on the mantras used in the *sandhyā* worship according to the PārS and n. 75. Cf. also Gupta/Hoens/Goudriaan 1979: 132: "The Tantric form of *aghamarṣaṇa* (removal of all sins) differs from the Vedic *aghamarṣaṇa* in that it does not use any Vedic mantra."

[73] It is not at all certain that the text is correct here. This sentence inserted into another one seems strange but as I cannot propose a better solution

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ācamana	and sip water according to the prescriptions. (89) (...)[74]
prāṇāyāma with water (*aghamarṣaṇa*?)	He should move his right palm filled with water to the tip of his nose, O Sage, (96cd) smell [it] while thinking of the *hṛnmantra*, hold [his breath] while whispering the *kavaca*[*mantra*], and exhale, uttering the *astra*[*mantra*] while throwing water.[75] (97)
mantranyāsa	Then he should place [mantras] on his hands and body in sequence.
jalāñjali for sages	Then he should take filtered water into his left hand while reciting the *hṛnmantra* (98) and he should delight the deceased sages, throwing [water] while reciting the *śikhā*[*mantra*].
jalāñjali in order to destroy villains and faults	In order to destroy villains and faults, thinking of the *astra*[*mantra*] he should throw [water] onto the earth (99) towards the intermediate points of the compass (?*antarāntarayogena*), then down and finally up.
jalāñjali for God	Then he should take an *añjali* of water and, thinking of Hari while reciting his mantra, (100) satiate [Him] who is present in the solar disk by means of this water.
reciting while facing the sun	Then with his [right] hand holding *kuśa* grass raised upwards, his eyes closed, reciting, (101) he should look[76] at the sun, which is the mantra that has been worshipped before by means of *arghya*.

I take the text as it is. The entire PārS is a text compiled of passages from other texts (cf. Rastelli 2006: 49–62), which often results in inhomogeneities

[74] PārS 2.90–96b (ParS 5.5–9) is a detailed prescription of how to perform *ācamana*.

[75] These *prāṇāyāma*s seem to be a replication of the *aghamarṣaṇa* rite described in PārS 2.87.

[76] Probably this means that the devotee should close his eyes and face the sun.

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tarpaṇa of throne, deities, etc.	Then he should sit down and satiate the mantra together with his limbs and his retinue, preceded by [satiating] the throne [that serves as] support (*ādhārāsana*). Then, in sequence, [he should satiate] Indra and the others, Viṣṇu and the others, Vāsudeva and the others, (102–103) the twelve *mūrti*s and the *śakti*s and the Supreme Self himself, the elements earth and the others, the seers and the ancestors. (104) Uttering the name in the accusative case at the beginning and [the phrase] 'I satiate', this is the mantra that is declared for satiating in due succession. (105)
tarpaṇa of the ancestors	Having satiated the fathers and grandfathers with water with sesame, he should satiate the great-grandfathers and their wives afterwards. (106) He should satiate while facing southwards for all the ancestors[77], for the deities and all the others he should face eastwards [in the morning] or westwards [in the evening]. (107)
ācamana	Then he should put the *pavitraka* (i.e. the *kuśa* grass mentioned in 101) away. The one who knows the mantra (*mantravid*[78]) should sip water again and
salutation of the cardinal directions	salute to in the cardinal directions respectfully after having visualised Nārāyaṇa, the Lord, in the evening and in the morning."[79]

[77] The southern direction is the direction of Yama, the deity that rules the spirits of the dead. Thus it fits to the deceased ancestors.

[78] In this context the term *mantravid* probably does not only mean that the devotee knows the mantra, but also that he recites it while sipping water.

[79] PārS 2.85–89 and 96c–108: *śrotradṛgvadanaṃ nāsāṃ svakarāṅgulibhiḥ kramāt | sthagayitvā nimajyātha sāṅgaṃ mantram athoccaran || 85 sakṛd vā bahuśaḥ śaktyā dhyāyej jyotirmayaṃ harim | devaṃ hṛtpuṣkarāntasthaṃ netrayor atha cāntare || 86 sarvapāpanirāsārthaṃ kṛtvaivam aghamarṣaṇam | prāṇāyāmais tribhir dvābhyām ekena niyatena vā || 87 samutthāyācaret paścāt sannirīkṣyārkamaṇḍalam | mantramūrtir mahātejāḥ samuttīrya jalāntarāt || 88 snānavastraṃ parityajya paridhāyāmbarāntaram |*

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Let us again compare the ritual sequences described in these texts with the sequence described by Veṅkaṭanātha:

PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
		touching the body			touching the sense organs
					plunging into the water, recitation
					visualisation of God within the body
				ācamana	
				drinking, wiping one's mouth	

śikhayātha śikhābandhaṃ kṛtvācamya yathāvidhi || 89 (...) *sajalaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ hastaṃ kṛtvā ghrāṇāgragaṃ mune* || 96 *smaran hṛnmantram āghrāya sandhārya kavacaṃ lapan* | *virecya samudīryāstraṃ toyakṣepeṇa vai saha* || 97 *tatas tu hastayor dehe nyāsaṃ kuryād yathākramam* (corr. of the editor, text: *yathāgamam*) | *hṛdā vāmakare toyam ādāya galitaṃ ca tat* || 98 *vibudhān ūrdhvadehasthān hlādayec chikayā kṣipan* | *smarann astraṃ kṣiped bhūmau duṣṭadoṣapraśāntaye* || 99 *antarāntarayogena hy ūrdhvāntaṃ prāg adhas tataḥ* | *jalāñjalim athādāya svamantreṇa* (corr. of the editor, text: *samantreṇa*) *hariṃ smaran* || 100 *sūryamaṇḍalamadhyasthaṃ tarpayet tena vāriṇā* | *sakuśordhvakaraś cātha vinimīlitadṛg japan* || 101 *sūryaṃ nirīkṣayen mantraṃ yad arghyenārcitaṃ purā* | *tatopaviśya santarpya ādhārāsanapūrvakam* || 102 *sāṅgaṃ saparivāraṃ ca mantraṃ tadanu vai kramāt* | *indrādīn viṣṇupūrvāṃś ca vāsudevādikān api* || 103 *mūrtīr dvādaśa śaktīś ca paramātmānam eva ca* | *pṛthivyādīni bhūtāni ṛṣīṃś ca pitṛbhiḥ saha* || 104 *ādau nāma dvitīyāntaṃ tarpayāmīti coccaran* | *eṣa mantras tu nirdiṣṭas tarpaṇeṣu yathākramam* || 105 *tilodakais tarpayitvā svapitṝṃś ca pitāmahān* | *prapitāmahasaṃjñāṃś ca sadārān anutarpayet* || 106 *tarpayet sarvapitṝṇāṃ dakṣiṇābhimukhena tu* | *devānāṃ ca tadanyeṣāṃ prāṅmukho vāpy udaṅmukhaḥ* || 107 *pavitrakaṃ tyajet paścāt punar ācamya mantravit* | *sāyaṃ prātar diśo vandyād dhyātvā nārāyaṇaṃ prabhum* || 108. PārS 2.87cd; ≈ParS 3.86cd; PārS 2.90–96b; ≈ParS 5.5–9; PārS 2.103c–105; ≈ParS 3.91–93b.

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PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
ācamana	*ācamana*	*ācamana*	*ācamana*	*ācamana*	
mantra-prokṣaṇa		*prokṣaṇa*	*prokṣaṇa* while reciting the *pañc-opaniṣad*s	*ātmaprokṣa-ṇa*	
mantrācama-na					
prokṣaṇa					
svātmapari-ṣecana				*ātmapari-ṣecana*	
arghyadāna in order to des-troy Rākṣasas					
pradakṣiṇā					
tarpaṇa of the lords of the months					
			purification of the body		
prāṇāyāma, invitation and recitation of the *gāyatrī*	recitation of the *pañcopa-nisad*s (100, 1000 or 10 times)	recitation	recitation of the *pañcopa-nisad*s with *prāṇāyāma*		*aghamarṣaṇa* by means of *prāṇāyāma*s[80]
			changing clothes		stepping out of the wa-ter, changing clothes
			ācamana		*ācamana*
			recitation of the *parama-haṃsa* and the *praṇava*, 1000 or 100 times		

[80] Cf. BaudhDhS 2.8.11 for a parallel rite.

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PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
recitation of the *aṣṭākṣara*-*mantra*			recitation of the *aṣṭākṣara*- and *dvādaśākṣaramantra*		
prāṇāyāma					*prāṇāyāma* with water (*aghamarṣaṇa*?) reciting *hṛn*-, *kavaca*-, *astramantra*
saṃkalpa		*saṃkalpa*			
anujñāpana					
		touching the sense organs			
					mantranyāsa
					jalāñjali for sages[81]
					jalāñjali in order to destroy villains and faults[81]
upasthāna	worship of the sun reciting *kālamantra*	worship of the Supreme Self	*jalāñjali*, worship of the sun reciting *mahāmantras* and *kālamantra*; visualisation of God in the solar disk	*jalāñjali*	*jalāñjali* for God present in the sun, recitation of his mantra
namaskāra for Sandhyā, etc., *pradakṣiṇā*					
abhivādana and *praṇāma* for God present in the heart					

[81] The *jalāñjali*s for the sages and for the sake of the destruction of villains and faults seem to be a parallel of the *jalāñjali*s for one's own benefit and

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PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
				washing one's hands	
				recitation of the *pañcopaniṣads*	
				pradakṣiṇā for God	
optional: *praṇāma* for the cardinal directions, etc.	worship of the cardinal directions reciting their mantra				
	recitation of the *aṣṭākṣara-* and *dvādaśākṣara-mantra*				
	reciting *stotras*, thinking of God				
tarpaṇa of *ādhārśakti*, etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors			*tarpaṇa* of deities, etc.		*tarpaṇa* of *ādhāraśākti*, etc., the deities etc, the ancestors
wringing out the bathing cloth					
ācamana					*ācamana*
					salutation of the cardinal directions
samāhāra of mantras					

The comparison shows that in some cases the nature of rituals that constitute *sandhyā* worship and their sequence match in their descriptions those of the PRR, the ParS and the PārS, and in some cases they diverge.

for the enemy's damage in BaudhDhS 2.8.4.

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We arrived at the same conclusion when we compared the PRR's descriptions with those of the BaudhDhS and the PādS: the kind of rituals and their sequence sometimes match and sometimes diverge. So if we look only at these two aspects, namely, which rituals are performed and in what sequence, we do not find more matches or affinities between the PRR and the BaudhDhS and the PādS than between the PRR and the ParS and the PārS.

However we find another aspect that diverges in the prescriptions of the PRR and those of the ParS and the PārS, which is most crucial: the mantras that are recited while the devotee performs his rites.

In the Vedic orthodox form of the *sandhyā* ritual, the most important mantra is the *gāyatrī*. Its recitation is considered one of the principal constituents of this ritual,[82] and it also plays a prominent role in Veṅkaṭanātha's description.

In contrast, in the ParS's prescriptions the mantras that appear most often are the *pañcopaniṣanmantras*. As already mentioned (n. 57), in the ParS's cosmology these mantras, although they bear masculine names, represent five *śaktis* that constitute the subtle body of God. They belong to the most important mantras of the ParS and are mentioned very often in its ritual prescriptions.[83] In the ParS's prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship, they take the place of the *gāyatrī*: They should be recited one hundred, one thousand or ten times (ParS 3.58–59b; see also 27.9) just as the *gāyatrī* should be recited according to the Vedic prescriptions (cf. PRR 107,11f.), and they are recited also in other contexts of the morning ritual (ParS 3.72c–73b, 3.84–86).

Another important mantra in the ParS's prescriptions is the *kālamantra* (ParS 3.59, 89), the mantra of time, used for the worship of sun, which is another principal element of the *sandhyā* ritual. In the ParS, time is one of the *tattvas* that constitute the world. Like all other *tattvas* constituting the world, mostly borrowed from the Sāṃkhya, it arises during the process of creation, more precisely, from the *taijasa ahaṃkāra* (cf. n. 91)

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[82] Cf., e.g., Kane II/1: 314.

[83] E.g., ParS 4.5, 41–43b, 48, 5.24, 8.33, 51, 19.28, 20.28, 40, 55.

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(ParS 2.35–51),[84] and just like the other *tattvas* it is a form of manifestation of God.[85] As the passing of time is most clearly visible in the movement of the sun, it obviously suggests itself to consider the sun a manifestation of God in the form of time, and thus the *kālamantra* was considered the appropriate mantra for worshipping this form of God.

Another mantra specifically used in the ParS's *sandhyā* ritual is the *diṅmantra*, the mantra of the cardinal directions, which are also one of the *tattvas* of the ParS's cosmology, arising from time (ParS 2.49) and representing space. This mantra is fittingly used for worshipping the cardinal directions, a rite that is also accepted by Veṅkaṭanātha as an option if the devotee stands in a tradition performing it (PRR 109,13–15, see p. 244). The *manomantra*, the *ahaṃkāramantra*, and the *buddhimantra* mentioned in ParS 3.74–75 are constituents of the ParS's cosmology, too.[86]

The only mantra the recitation of which is described by both the ParS and Veṅkaṭanātha is the eight-syllable mantra (*aṣṭākṣaramantra*) (ParS 3.60, 88, PRR 107,10f., see p. 279f).[87]

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[84] For a detailed description of this process of creation according to the ParS see Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 1998 and Rastelli 2006: 354; for a summary see p. 273.

[85] See ParS 2.52–53b: "The five subtle elements such as smell and the others, the cardinal directions, time, mind, self-awareness, intellect, the primary matter and the yoga body (i.e. the subtle body made of the *pañcopaniṣads*; see ParS 2.29–34) are taught as the twelve manifestations of the Supreme Self." (*gandhamātrādikāḥ pañca diśaḥ kālo manas tathā | ahaṃkāraś ca buddhiś ca prakṛtir yogavigrahaḥ || 52 ity etā dvādaśa proktā mūrtayaḥ paramātmanaḥ |*) and ParS 2.77: "The supreme person himself, o Brahmā, appearing as time permanently turns the wheel for the sake of the course of the world." (*para eva pumān brahma kālo bhūtvā vyavasthitaḥ | lokasaṃvyavahārārthaṃ cakraṃ bhramayati dhruvam* || 77). According to the Pāñcarātra, every aspect of the world is a manifestation of God; cf. Rastelli 1999: 98f.

[86] ParS 2.41–48. The mind (*manas*) is associated with volition (*saṃkalpa*) (ParS 2.48cd, 6.18ab) which makes it appropriate for the ritual declaration (*saṃkalpa*) for performing a ritual.

[87] It is probably not by chance that Veṅkaṭanātha does not mention the *dvādaśākṣaramantra* here because it is associated with the Ekāyanas (Rastelli 2006: 204f.). On the Ekāyanas see pp. 279f.

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Another difference between the PRR and the ParS can probably be found in the deities satiated during the *sandhyā* ritual. Although Veṅkaṭanātha does not specify the deities that are to be satiated, but formulates his prescription in a rather general way,[88] we can be almost sure that he does not mean the deities that are mentioned in the ParS. The reason is that although the list of deities in the ParS 3.91–92b seems to be quite general at first view, they are quite specific for the ParS's cosmology, even if the ParS's cosmology is not coherent in all places of the text.

Let us investigate the role of these deities in the ParS in detail:

Supreme Self:	The Supreme Self (*paramātman*) possesses a body made of the *pañcopaniṣad*s (ParS 2.29–30).
śaktis:	When the *pañcopaniṣad*s join with the primary matter (*prakṛti*), fifteen *śaktis* (Jyeṣṭhā, Vidyā, Kānti, Śānti, Śraddhā, Vāgīśvarī, Kriyā, Kīrti, Lakṣmī, Sṛṣṭi, Mohinī, Avidyā Tamovatī, Mṛtyu, Māyā, Malinā) arise (ParS 2.35–38).
twelve *mūrtis*:	These fifteen *śaktis* in three groups of five constitute the three *guṇa*s, from which the various *tattva*s arise (ParS 2.35cd and 39–51). Twelve of these *tattva*s, namely, the five subtle elements, the cardinal directions, time, mind, self-awareness, intellect, the primary matter and the yoga body, are called the twelve *mūrtis* of the Supreme Self (ParS 2.52–53b, cf. n. 85).
	From these twelve *mūrtis* twelve *śaktis* (Yogeśvarī, Sukhā, Prajñā, Tuṣṭi, Smṛti, Dīptirāgā, Vāc, Nīti, Kānti, Amṛtā, Śakti, Sarvā) arise (ParS 2.79–81).
Viṣṇu and the others:	From the twelve *śaktis* the twelve lords of the months Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, and Govinda arise (ParS 2.82–86).

[88] PRR 110,1f.: "Then he should realise that the *ādhāraśakti* and the other [constituents of God's throne] up to [His] retinue and the deities, the seers and the ancestors have the nature of the Venerable One and satiate them with their respective names preceded by the *praṇava*." For the Sanskrit text see n. 31.

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Vāsudeva and the others are the four Vyūhas: Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. They are also mentioned in the ParS chapter on cosmology (ParS 2.99c–101), but they do not have a specific role or place in the process of creation. It seems that they were added to this description later. The four Vyūhas, however, appear also in another passage, namely, in the description of the throne (*yāgapīṭha*?[89]) used for the worship of God. This kind of throne is generally constituted of elements that also constitute the universe.[90] Thus it also gives us information about cosmological concepts. In the ParS's throne, the four Vyūhas are its four legs and represent the four positive *guṇa*s of the intellect (*buddhi*), *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aiśvarya*. The other parts of the throne are the four negative *guṇa*s of the *buddhi*, the three *ahaṃkāra*s[91], the three *guṇa*s of primary matter, the elements (*bhūta*), and a lotus. On the petals and the filaments of the lotus, the twelve *mūrti*s and the fifteen *śakti*s are situated. On the receptacle (*karṇikā*) the three groups of five *śakti*s being the sources of the three *guṇa*s of the *prakṛti* are present. Above them we find fire (*agni*), moon (*soma*), and sun (*sūrya*), which are the uppermost elements of the throne (ParS 4.28c–36). We see that in contrast to the cosmology chapter, in the throne the four Vyūhas have been integrated into a system to which also the twelve *mūrti*s, the fifteen *śakti*s, etc. belong.

Indra and the others mean the guardians of the world (*lokapāla*). They are deities that are quite common but the formulation "[while reciting] the mantras beginning with the [twelve] *mūrti*s and the [twelve] *śakti*s and ending with the *lokapāla*s" (*mūrtiśaktyādibhir mantrair lokapālāvasānikaiḥ* ||) in ParS 20.54 shows that they can have a fixed

[89] The verses ParS 4.27–28 indeed use the term *yāgapīṭha*. This term may be used intentionally or it may be a scribal error for the term *yogapīṭha* which is more common and appears also in other places of the ParS (ParS 4.64, 22.71, 25.22, 29.3 and 64).

[90] Cf. Rastelli 1999: 73–80.

[91] I.e. the *vaikārika ahaṃkāra* made of *sattva*, the *taijasa ahaṃkāra* made of *rajas*, and the *bhūtādi ahaṃkāra* made of *tamas* (ParS 2.45–46).

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place in a defined series of mantras that also include the twelve *mūrti*s and twelve *śakti*s that are specific for the ParS.

The mantras used in the PārS are that of the mantric system specific for this Saṃhitā. The main mantra of the PārS is the twelve-syllable mantra (*dvādaśākṣaramantra*) *oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*. It is followed by the six *aṅgamantra*s for heart (*hṛd*), head (*śiras*), tuft of hair (*śikhā*), cuirass (*kavaca*), weapon (*astra*) and eye (*netra*), and several other groups of mantras constituting the retinue of the main mantra, which are not of importance in our context as they are not mentioned in detail in the passage quoted.[92]

The main mantra is recited while offering a *jalāñjali* to God present in the sun, one of the most important moments in *sandhyā* worship (PārS 2.100c–101b). Together with the *aṅgamantra*s and its retinue it is the first mantra that is satiated (PārS 2.102c–103b). And it is recited while plunging into the water when God is visualised as being present within the body of the devotee (PārS 2.85c–86). The other mantras recited while performing breath control or while throwing *jalāñjali*s for various purposes (PārS 2.96c–99) belong to the *aṅgamantra*s.

The deities and beings satiated in the PārS's prescriptions are for a great part those from the ParS. The redactor of the PārS adopted the whole passage from ParS 3.91–93b in PārS 2.103c–105, although generally the PārS did not adopt the ParS's cosmology.

Theory or Practice?

We found out that the main difference between the *sandhyā* rituals that were accepted by Veṅkaṭanātha and those that he implicitly rejected are the mantras recited and the deities evoked during the rituals. One of his main arguments for implicitly rejecting the ParS and PārS *sandhyā* rituals is that they were not properly performed in practice.

However, could this be true? And what exactly does it mean?

[92] For a detailed description of the mantric system of the PārS see Rastelli 2006: 424–426.

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First of all, as long as there is no other evidence, we should principally consider a document of religious history such as the PRR to be truthful. In this case, however, we have other documents, namely the ParS and the PārS. If we take Veṅkaṭanātha at his word, this would mean that these two Saṃhitās were purely normative texts which were never properly put into practice.[93] So it is one statement against another.

We could argue that the ParS had been composed a few centuries before Veṅkaṭanātha's lifetime and its ritual prescriptions had become obsolete by that time.[94] It is, however, more difficult to argue this with regard to the PārS. The PārS was composed not very long before Veṅkaṭanātha, probably in the 12th century at the earliest, and it was probably composed in Śrīraṅgam (Rastelli 2006: 49–54), a place where Veṅkaṭanātha spent a part of his life as *ācārya* (Singh 1958: 22–29). The fact that the PārS was commented by Narasiṃhayajvan in the 18th century shows that it could not have become out of use at the time of Veṅkaṭanātha.

Is it then probable that Veṅkaṭanātha never had the opportunity to observe the performance of rituals according to the PārS? The keyword here might be "properly" (*yathāvat*): Veṅkaṭanātha perhaps did

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[93] An argument against this would be that at least the PārS was an authoritative text for Veṅkaṭanātha himself, as he quoted from it several times in his PRR (e.g., PārS 10.329–333b in PRR 40,9–17 or PārS 2.42c–57b in PRR 99,12–101,3). It is however possible that he considered it authoritative only for aspects other than the *sandhyā* ritual.

[94] The *Paramasaṃhitā* is already quoted in Yāmuna's *Āgamaprāmāṇya* (10th/11th century) but we do not know which form it had in Yāmuna's lifetime (cf. Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 2003: 27f.), a problem that inheres in the dating of all anonymous literature.

On the other hand, the usage of the *pañcopaniṣanmantra*s, which seems to be the main reason for rejecting the prescriptions of the ParS, could not have been very unconventional for Veṅkaṭanātha. Their usage is prescribed even in the *Nityagrantha* (182,17–20) which Veṅkaṭanātha considered to have been authored by Rāmānuja, one of his most authoritative teachers (see, e.g., PRR 63,17f.).

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not want to say that the *sandhyā* prescriptions of the ParS and the PārS were not followed at all but that they were not followed in a proper way. We will examine below (pp. 279f.) what this could mean from his point of view.

But what was Veṅkaṭanātha's reason for making this statement? In order to answer this question we have to consider Veṅkaṭanātha's overall purpose for writing the PRR: he wanted to show that the Pañcarātra scriptures are authoritative because they are in agreement with the Vedic texts (cf. PRR 2,1–3,8).

If we consider *sandhyā* prescriptions such as those of the ParS and the PārS, it is difficult to argue that they are in agreement with the Vedic Sūtras. The recitation of the *gāyatrī* is one of the principal constituents of the Vedic orthodox *sandhyā*. If it is absent, it is not a Vedic orthodox *sandhyā* anymore.

Veṅkaṭanātha could not argue that the prescriptions of the ParS and PārS are not valid because in chapter 1 of the PRR he went to great pains to show that the entire tradition of Pāñcarātra including all sub-traditions (*siddhānta*) is authoritative (PRR 3,9–13, 7,13–9,5, 43,8–19). So other arguments had to be found:

> "Even if with regard to the [*sandhyā* ritual] three different kinds of *sandhyā* worship are described in the various [Pāñcarātra] Saṃhitās, namely, that related to the seers (*ārṣī*), that related to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavī*), [and] that related to Prajāpati (*prājāpatyā*), it is nevertheless proper to perform the *sandhyā* worship and other [rites] only as prescribed by one's Sūtra, (1) because it is difficult to know these various modes [of *sandhyā* worship] as the largest portion of these Saṃhitās is lost, (...)

In this passage, Veṅkaṭanātha said that there are prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and specifies three kinds of them. However, he said, it is difficult to know the content of these prescriptions because they are lost in large part.

Lost prescriptions were an issue already in the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* and in the Mīmāṃsā. Here we have the principle that the main basis of the *dharma*, that is, what one should do and how one should live, is the Veda. There are, however, cases in which the so-called

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"cultivated people" (*śiṣṭa*) who principally follow the Vedic prescriptions have customs and rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that are not prescribed by the Veda. In such cases the principle was to infer that these customs are based on lost parts of the Veda.[95] Considered as such, the customs of cultivated people were an authority with regard to the *dharma*, although hierarchically placed below the Vedic revelation (*śruti*) and the *smṛtis*.

However, this is not exactly what Veṅkaṭanātha argued here. There are not certain customs which must be argued to be based on certain prescriptions. Actually, according to Veṅkaṭanātha it is just the contrary: a few prescriptions are extant but they are not followed properly:

> (...) (2) because a tradition of proper instruction and performance even of the various modes of *sandhyā* worship that are seen in their entirety in Saṃhitās such as the *Pārameśvara* or the *Parama* is not established,

What to do in such a case, where the large part of the prescriptions is supposedly lost and the part that is extant is not properly practiced? We have to find out the content of the lost prescriptions by finding out what the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās' general view is of how rituals should be performed:

> [and] (3) because it is established that even if performed according to the Sūtras [*sandhyā* worship] has the form of the worship of the Venerable One, since there is no insistence on giving up something that was adopted before, since the *saṃskāras* and the established rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that are taught by one's own Sūtra are approved in the Saṃhitās of the Venerable One's body of teachings (*bhagavacchāstra*) themselves."

Veṅkaṭanātha argued that the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās do not require that a devotee gives up his Vedic tradition as they approve the rituals

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[95] See ĀpDhS 12.10: "All rites are described in the Brāhmaṇas. The lost Brāhmaṇa passages relating to some of them are inferred from usage." (*brāhmaṇoktā vidhayas teṣām utsannāḥ pāṭhāḥ prayogād anumīyante*, translated by Olivelle 2000: 44) and, for the Mīmāṃsā, Clooney 2001: 141f.

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and customs prescribed by the Vedic Sūtras (here we clearly see who Veṅkaṭanātha's target audience was: Pāñcarātrins that also adhere to a Vedic *śākhā*). According to Veṅkaṭanātha, this proves that the Vedic Sūtras have the same aim as the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, namely, the worship of God and not that of the sun itself. So according to Veṅkaṭanātha, we know what was intended by the lost *sandhyā* prescriptions of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās: a performance that agrees with one according to the prescriptions of the Vedic Sūtras because Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and Vedic Sūtras both match with regard to their content.

By arguing in such a complicated way, Veṅkaṭanātha achieved the following aims: Arguments 1 and 3 maintain the supreme authority of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās while at the same time Veṅkaṭanātha achieved his aim that the *sandhyā* rituals should be performed according to the Vedic Sūtras. These arguments give the impression that the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās originally prescribed the performance of the *sandhyā* rituals in the way that also the Vedic Sūtras prescribe. Thereby the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are presented, firstly, as authoritative sources that are, secondly, in agreement with the Veda.

Argument 2 does not invalidate Saṃhitās such as the ParS and the PārS, which from an objective point of view do not agree with the Vedic prescriptions. Veṅkaṭanātha did not say that these texts are not authoritative because they teach diverging prescriptions. Instead he said that there is no tradition of properly performing them, which implies that these prescriptions would be fine if they were properly performed, which could mean according to Veṅkaṭanātha if they were performed in a way that agrees with the Vedic orthodox way.[96] So the fault is not that of the scriptures but that of a tradition that does not properly follow them.

But which tradition did Veṅkaṭanātha have in mind? The PārS belongs to the tradition of the Ekāyanas or Āgamasiddhānta, a subtradition of the Pāñcarātra, which bases itself on the authority of the so-called Ekāyanaveda—a text that perhaps never existed, which

[96] We can only speculate what this might mean concretely.

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was perhaps just an ideal—in contrast to another sub-tradition called Mantrasiddhānta, which follows the Pāñcarātra and a Vedic tradition and to which, for example, the PādS belongs (cf. p. 239).[97]

However, does the ParS also belong to the Ekāyanas? The ParS was probably composed at a time when the division of the Pāñcarātra into Siddhāntas had not yet come into existence (cf. n. 94). Thus we do not find any clue of an adherence to a Siddhānta in this text. It is, however, possible that in later times the ParS was considered part of the Ekāyana tradition. Nṛsiṃhayajvan, the author of the *Pārameśvarapadyavivṛti*, commented on the passage containing the prescriptions for sipping water (*ācamana*), which the PārS adopted from the ParS (cf. n. 74): "This is the Ekāyanaśākhās' prescription for sipping water from the *tīrthas*."[98][99] We do not know if Nṛsiṃhayajvan was aware of the fact that this passage had been adopted from the ParS and if he would indeed have considered the ParS part of the Ekāyanaśākhā. But it is possible that if this mode of sipping water was considered characteristic of the Ekāyanas, in the long run a text prescribing this mode was also considered part of the Ekāyanaśākhā.

So Veṅkaṭanātha's motives seem to be clear. Although in the first chapter of the PRR Veṅkaṭanātha argued in detail that all Siddhāntas have the same value, he seems to have had a personal preference, and if we know his background it is no surprise that it is the sub-tradition that also adheres to the Vedic tradition. The Ekāyanas, who do not belong to a Vedic orthodox tradition, were a social fact for him. They were present at Śrīraṅgam, where Veṅkaṭanātha could observe and meet them. And, it seems, he did not agree with their ritual way of life.

The traditional records on Veṅkaṭanātha's life in Śrīraṅgam possibly corroborate this. They report that Veṅkaṭanātha had problems with the Teṅkalais—whoever might be meant by this term, since it is not at all sure that there was a clear-cut division between Vaṭakalais and

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[97] On these two sub-traditions see Rastelli 2003 and Rastelli 2006: 185–253.

[98] In this context, *tīrthas* are particular places on the hand from which water is sipped (see Kane II/1: 316, n. 750, and 652f.).

[99] PārPV 17,2f.: *ekāyanaśākhānām ayam eva tīrthācamanavidhiḥ*.

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Teṅkalais at Veṅkaṭanātha's time[100]—because they were jealous of him. Singh (1958: 22–26) describes several incidents in which according to these records the Teṅkalais behaved quite rudely towards Veṅkatanātha whereas Veṅkaṭanātha's behaviour is described as very positive and friendly.

Of course, these records cannot be taken as objective historical accounts. They have their own purposes and they are, of course, biased. But what may be the truth behind these reports is that there were tensions between Veṅkaṭanātha and the local Brahmins. We can only speculate if these so-called Teṅkalais were identical with our Ekāyanas.

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[100] Cf. Raman 2007: 4–15.

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Other abbreviations:

cp	*caryāpāda.*
GOS	*Gaekwad's Oriental Series.*

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Paḷḷivēṭṭa, or the 'Royal Hunt', in Prescriptive Literature and in Present-day Practice in Kerala

SUMMARY: The ritual manuals produced in Kerala are unique in their nature since most of them do not make a precise difference between the systems of *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* but rather adopt a synthesized approach. The authors of these ritual manuals were ready to introduce or omit rituals that were described in the early texts, according to need. The manuals that were written in the early period included initiation rituals and gave importance to the theological aspect; the later ones completely omitted these elements, being written as guides for temple rituals. They are not, however, uniform in their ritual prescriptions. While these manuals were intended as guides for the performance of rituals, in practice some of the rituals prescribed in the manuals are left out, altered or localized. In this article, '*paḷḷivēṭṭa*', a ritual that is presently performed during the annual festival in Kerala temples, is examined to show how this ritual is described in the manuals and how it is practised today.

KEYWORDS: Kerala, *paḷḷivēṭṭa*, royal hunt, *parivēṭṭai*, *pariveṣa*, *pariveṣaṇa*

Introduction

Festivals (*utsava*) are an important feature of Indian temple culture.[1] It is said the virtue of a temple depends on five different aspects: the religious austerity of the *ācārya* (*tapas*), recitation of the Vedas (*japa*), following the rules as instructed in the scriptures (*niyama*), festivals

[1] See also Davis 2010: 24–40; Ganesan 2005, Barazer-Billoret 1999.

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(*utsava*), and the giving of food (*annadāna*).[2] The *Vijayottarāgama* (Ganesan 2005: 4) lists the effects on those who perform the festival while defining the term *utsava,* underlining the importance of the *utsava*s of a particular temple: "the *utsava* is that which extricates the creatures who have fallen into the stain of ignorance from their bondage, and thereby it brings about the manifestation of their power of knowledge". *Ajitāgama* (25: 1) adds that the *utsava* prevents all misfortune and brings prosperity to the worlds.

In the ritual manuals that are produced in different regions of India, we find descriptions of various types of festival, including daily (*nityotsava*), weekly (*vārotsava*), monthly (*māsotsava*), annual great festivals (*mahotsava*) etc. Kerala, a state in the south-west region of India, is well known for its temple festivals. The ritual manuals produced in Kerala also describe such festivals, and it is common knowledge that the temples in Kerala, perform a 'great annual festival' (*mahotsava*) that usually goes on for ten days. During this festival, several rituals are performed and among these, on the ninth day, a ritual called *Paḷḷivēṭṭa* (in local vernacular Malayalam) or 'royal hunt', known in some texts of other regions as *mṛgayā*, is performed with pomp and ceremony. This paper will analyse the way in which this ritual is described in the manuals of Kerala and how it is currently practised.

Ritual Manuals of Kerala

The ritual manuals originating in other parts of India tend to be devoted exclusively to a particular system of worship, such as *Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta* etc. But several of the ones coming from Kerala, commonly called "Kerala-Tantra", do not differentiate between the *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* cults. The synthesis of *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* ritual systems appears to be a unique feature of the theistic ritual literature of

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[2] *ācāryatapasāmnāya japena niyamena ca /*
utsavādannadānena kṣetravṛddhis tu pañcadhā //
cf. Sambasivan 2014: 117.

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Kerala[3]. *Īśānagurudevapaddhati*, *Kalaśacandrikā*, the *Puṭayurbhāṣā* —a ritual manual that is written in the local vernacular Malayalam, the *Tantrasamuccaya* etc. are typical of this type. However, some of the *paddhati*'s produced in Kerala prior to the above mentioned manuals were essentially *Śaiva* or *Vaiṣṇava*. The *Śaivāgamanibandhana* of Murāridatta, *Prayogamañjarī* of Ravi and *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* of Sumati are three examples of this type.

Description of the 'Royal Hunt' in Kerala ritual manuals

The ritual manuals of Kerala contain detailed outlines of the annual temple festival and include the hoisting of the flag, propitiatory oblation of rice inside the temple (*śrībhūtabali*), propitiatory oblation of rice outside the temple (*grāmabali*), the royal hunt (*paḷḷivēṭṭa,* or *mṛgayā*) and the ceremonial bath (*tīrtha-snapana*), as well as certain other minor rituals that are performed during the annual festival. They give a great deal of importance to the *bali,* or propitiatory oblation, that is offered inside the temple during the festival days and to a *bali* known as *mahābali* (*Śaivāgamanibandhana*, T. 379, p. 313; *Prayogamañjarī,* 18: 95) or *grāmabali* (*Puṭayūrbhāṣā,* p. 205; *Tantrasamuccaya*, 9: 197) performed the day before the ceremonial bath; this *grāmabali* is offered in the nearby village of the temple, in a garden, in a forest or at a crossroads.

The ritual manuals usually give the 'royal hunt' immediately after the description of the *grāmabali.* In temples where the duration of the annual festival is ten days, the 'royal hunt' takes place on the ninth day, while in those where the annual festival is observed for only seven days, the hunting procession is held on the sixth day.

The 'royal hunt' in the early ritual manuals of Kerala

Both the unpublished *Śivāgamanibandhana*[4] of Murāridatta and

[3] See also Sarma 2012: 104–107.

[4] Manuscripts of this text are available in the Calicut University Manuscript Library (Malayalam Department) Ms. No. 2433; Trivandrum

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the *Prayogamañjarī*[5] of Ravi, two early *Śaiva* ritual manuals of Kerala, provide a detailed prescription for the *bali* offered on the days of *utsava*. However, these texts only cursorily mention the *grāmabali* with no mention of the 'royal hunt':

> *evaṃ kṛtvā yathānyāyaṃ kuryād rātrau mahābalim /*
> *ārāmeṣu vanānteṣu grāmatīrtheṣu sarvataḥ //*
> (*Śaivāgamanibandhana*, T. 379, p. 313)
>
> Having done thus according to the prescription, during the night, one should perform the great offering (*mahābali*) in gardens, forest regions, and in holy waters (*grāmatīrtha*) in the village all around.

> *pūrvokteṣu baliṃ vidhāya nikhilasthāneṣu pūrvakramāc*
> *charvaryāṃ nikhilair janaiḥ parivṛto vādyaiḥ samastair api /*
> *yātrāpūrvadine mahābalim ataḥ kuryāt prabhūtodanair*
> *nānābhakṣyavimiśritaiś ca parito grāmasya bāhye punaḥ //*
> (*Prayogamañjarī* 18: 95)
>
> Having performed the *bali* (offering) during the night in all the above-mentioned places, in the same order as above, surrounded by all the people and by musical instruments of all kinds, then, the day before the *yātrā* (the religious procession), one should offer the great offering [*mahābali*] with an abundance of cooked rice, along with different kinds of dishes, around the village and then (*punaḥ*) outside it.

The *Pradyota*, a commentary on the *Prayogamañjarī* by Trivikrama, omits the 'royal hunt'.[6]

Manuscripts Library, Ms. No. 18818–22 (5 mss.); French Institute, T. 379, and also in the two private collections of Puliyannūr Mana (Ms. No. 108) and Taraṇanallūr Mana (Ms. No. 177A); See also Sarma 2009: 326–327.

There are twenty-seven chapters (*paṭala*) in this text, and in its twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapter, the text describes the *utsava*. At the beginning of the twenty-fourth chapter, the text mentions the importance of the festival:

> *sthāpito 'pi vidhānena prāsāde parameśvaraḥ*
> *utsavaṃ tīrthyātrāñ ca snānaṃ prāpya prasīdati /*
> *devasannidhaye cātra maṅgalāyāghaśāntaye*
> *utsavaṃ kārayec chaktyā saṃvatsarakṛtaṃ param //* (T. 379, p. 313).

[5] For a detailed description of this text, see Sarma 2009: 321–326.

[6] Ms ORI, Trivandrum, T. 413, p. 263.

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Similarly, *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*, a *Vaiṣṇava–paddhati* produced in Kerala, mentions only the *mahābali* with no reference to the 'royal hunt':

tīrthasnānadināt pūrvadine kṛtvā mahotsavam //
vighneśaṃ devatāś cānyās tatra yatnena pūjayet /
tatra sāyaṃ paribhramya datvā caiva mahābalim //
praviśya devam ācāryaḥ prārthayet susamāhitaḥ /
(*Viṣṇusaṃhitā* 20: 98cd–100ab)

On the day before the day of the sacred bath, having celebrated a great festivity, one should perform the worship of Ganeśa and other deities in a grand manner. Then, in the evening, one should go around (taking the deities), and give the great offering (*mahābalim*). Then entering [the temple], the *ācārya* should pray to the god, concentrating his mind.

The *Īśānagurudevapaddhati,* which contains rituals related to Śiva as well as to Viṣṇu, provides a lengthy description of the *bali* to be offered on the days of *utsava*, but does not mention *mahābali* (or *grāmabali*) or 'royal hunt', but rather goes on to explicate the rituals that are to be performed on the night before the ceremonial bath.[7]

The *Puṭayūrbhāṣā*[8], a ritual text in the local vernacular Malayalam, contains, in its ninth chapter, a brief account of the festival, in which there is a mention of *grāmabali*[9] and of a procession of the deity through the village, but no reference to the 'royal hunt'.[10]

Thus we find that the early ritual texts of Kerala describe a *grāmabali* in their chapters on festivals but do not include the 'royal hunt'. A procession is however mentioned before the *mahābali* (*grāmabali*) in the *Śaivāgamanibandhana* (T. 379: 313), the *Prayogamañjarī* (18: 95) and the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* (20: 99c). At present in Kerala, apart from a few temples, such as the Guruvāyūr Temple in the Trichur district (a description of the royal hunt that takes place in this temple

[7] cf. *Īśānagurudevapaddhati*, 4: 477.

[8] For more details of this text, see Sarma 2009: 333–334.

[9] In the edition of this text the editor introduces a heading "*grāmabali* (*paḷḷivēṭṭa*)". But the text only describes the *grāmabali* and not the 'royal hunt'.

[10] *Puṭayūrbhāṣā*, 9: 98–100.

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is described in the following pages), the *grāmabali* is not observed during the annual festival.

Kerala ritual texts that introduce the 'royal hunt'

In Kerala the introduction of the 'royal hunt' seems to date from the period of *Tantrasamuccaya*[11] by Nārāyaṇa (born 1428 A.D.)[12]. The ninth chapter of this text contains a description of the 'royal hunt' as a part of the rituals related to the annual festival. Most of the temples in Kerala are, even now, following the *Tantrasamuccaya* system for their ritual practices.

The *Tantrasamuccaya* first describes the *bali* to be offered during the days of the festival, followed by a description of the *grāmabali* (*bali* that is offered outside the temple) and the 'royal hunt' as follows:

> *tīrthasnānadinādharedyurabhisāyaṃ so 'yam ācāryako*
> *grāme caityacatuṣpathādiṣu baliṃ kurvan parītyākhile /*
> *grāmānte mṛgayāpracāravihṛtiṃ kṛtvā suyodhaiḥ samaṃ*
> *pratyāpatya tataḥ svakautukagataṃ mūle samāyojayet //*
> (*Tantrasamuccaya* 9: 197)
>
> On the day before the sacred bath, around late evening, the *ācārya,* performing the offering in the outskirts of the village, in the places of worship (*caitya*), crossroads and other places, should move around (the village) [and] at the borders of the village the hunting procession should take place with well experienced fighters. Returning thereafter, the [*caitanya*] transferred [from the *utsavabimba*] onto his [viz. the deity's] *kautuka* thread should be joined with the principal (*mūle*) image.

However, the text does not refer to the *mṛgayātrā* or 'hunting procession', as South Indian temple *āgamas* usually do, but instead mentions '*mṛgayāpracāravihṛtim*', hunting as a pleasurable activity.

In the *Vimarśinī,* a commentary on the *Tantrasamuccaya*, the commentator, Śaṅkara, describes the 'hunting act' as a game and explicitly

[11] For a detailed description of this text, see Sarma 2009: 332–333.
[12] cf. Unni 1990: 34.

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sets out the manner in which the act of hunting must be performed in the following comments on the above verse (9: 197):

> *tataḥ,* [Then], ***tīrthasnānadinādharedyuḥ*** *= tīrthasnānadināt pūrvedyuḥ,* [on the previous day of the Sacred Bath], ***abhisāyaṃ*** *= sāyantanabalikāle,* [at the time of the [*bali*] offering of the evening], ***so 'yam ācāryakaḥ svayam evākhile grāme,*** [the *ācārya* himself in the whole village], [***caityacatuṣpathādiṣu***] ***caityam*** *= prasiddhāśvatthādivṛkṣasthānaṃ,* [the popular places where the holy trees like fig trees are planted], ***catuṣpatham*** *= caturṇāṃ pathāṃ saṅgamaḥ* [the junctions [where] four roads meet], ***ādiśabdena*** *viśeṣasthānāntarāṇy ucyante* [by the word *ādi* (etc.) the other special places are referred to]; *tatra tatra baliṃ kurvan,* [in all those places making the offering (*bali*)], ***parītya*** *= parito gatvā* [having gone around], ***grāmānte*** *= grāmasamīpasthāne* [in the places near the village], ***suyodhaiḥ*** *= suprasiddhair yoddhṛbhiḥ,* ***samaṃ*** *= saha,* [with the well known fighters (hunters)], ***mṛgayāpracāravihṛtim*** *= tīkṣṇaṃṛgahananādikrīḍāṃ,* ***kṛtvā,*** [having done the pleasurable hunting of the cruel animals], ***pratyāpatya*** *= punaḥ svasthānam āgamya* [on returning back to the original place], *tataḥ,* [thereafter], ***svakautukagataṃ*** *= devaṃ,* ***mūle*** *= mūlabimbe,* ***samāyojayet*** | [should unite the deity in to the principal image]. (*Vimarśinī* ad *Tantrasamuccaya*, 9: 197)

Another commentary on *Tantrasamuccaya*, the *Vivaraṇa,* comments:

> ***[tīrthasnānadinādharedyur iti] grāmabalimṛgayābhidhānam|***
> [This refers to the (day of) offering of *bali* around the village and the hunting].
> *kṣiprabalyanantaraṃ* [after the immediate offering?], *gopurād bahir niṣkramya* [going outside the gateway [of the temple]], *mantrau śārṅgiṇītyādimanubhiś caityacatuṣpathādiṣu baliṃ dadyāt*
> [offering should be given in the place of holy fig trees, four road crossings, etc. with the *mantras* "*mantrau śārṅgiṇi*" etc.]
> *sarovanagrāmāntasīmādīnām ādiśabdena grahaṇam.*
> [The lake, gardens, outskirts of village, etc. are to be taken by the word ***ādi***.]
> *mṛgayāpracāravihṛtis tv evaṃ divaiva vā syāt.*
> [The diversion of going hunting could be in the daytime itself also]
> ***pratyāpatyeti.*** *baliṃ vidhāyeti parītyety uktarītyā prāsādaṃ prāpyety arthaḥ.* [Returning back means, after reaching the temple, as it has been said "after offering *bali*" and "surrounding"]
> (*Vivaraṇa* ad *Tantrasamuccaya* 9: 197)

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The commentator here mentions the '*mṛgayāpracāravihṛtim*' only as a ritual which may also be performed during the day, without any elaborate description of the ritual itself:

mṛgayāpracāravihṛtis tv evaṃ divaiva vā syāt

The diversion of going hunting may also be in daytime

Apart from the *Tantrasamuccaya*, there are two ritual guides written in local vernacular Malayalam which are in use today: the *Kuḻikkāṭṭupacca*, a prose version of the *Tantrasamuccaya*, widely used by the priests of Kerala temples and the *Kriyāpaddhati*, a recently published guide to assist the priests.

The *Kuḻikkāṭṭupacca* (1986: 271), describes the *grāmabali* as a ritual to be performed on the day before the *ārāṭṭu* (ceremonial bath), which takes place after the 'royal hunt' (*paḻḻivēṭṭa*): on the eve of the *ārāṭṭu*, once the *śrībhūtabali* (the *bali* that is offered on the days of festival inside the temple complex) has been performed, the deity should be brought out of the temple (for *grāmabali* and *paḻḻivēṭṭa*). When the Lord comes out through the temple gate (*gopura*) for the *paḻḻivēṭṭa* (royal hunt), *bali* must be offered on both sides of the entrance while the *mūla* is recited, as well as at the roots of auspicious trees, such as *aśva*. Further, *bali* should be offered at the border of the village (*grāmasīma*) followed by a 'hunting call' (*nāyāṭṭuviḻi*) by armed soldiers accompanying the deity. Once the *grāmabali*, and the 'royal hunt' have been performed, the deity should be brought back to the temple in a procession with lights and the playing of musical instruments.

The *Kriyāpaddhati* (2010: 104) also describes the ritual in the same way, but specifies that the offering of *bali* should be made in the location where the 'royal hunt' takes place and also proposes that the chief-priest (*tantri*) announce '*eyyāṃ*' meaning 'let the arrow be loosed'.

There is another ritual manual, the *Anuṣṭhānapaddhati* (1983: 164), a late *paddhati* text in prose, which also refers to the '*mṛgayā*' or hunting:

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sarvāsu baliṃ datvā grāmānte bhaṭaiḥ saha mṛgayāṃ kṛtvā
prākārāntarbhāgaṃ praviśya kṣetrapālāya baliṃ datvā tatra samāpayet[13]

Bestowing offerings in all the directions and having accomplished the hunting with the soldiers at the borders of the village, [and the deity along with the *ācārya*] entering the inner portion of the temple courts, the ritual is to be ended with the offering the *bali* to the guardian deity (*kṣetrapāla*) of the temple.

Here too we see that the text prescribes that the 'royal hunt' be performed along with the soldiers after the *bali* offering.

Performance of the 'royal hunt' ritual in present-day practice

In the temples of Kerala where the 'royal hunt' ritual takes place, the present-day practice is generally as follows: a mock forest is prepared in a location not far from the temple in which a tender coconut, a symbolic representation of an animal, is placed. The deity mounted on either an elephant or a vehicle (*vāhana*) moves in silent procession towards the mock forest. A man[14] representing the deity performs the 'royal hunt' ritual by shooting an arrow which pierces the tender coconut. The procession immediately breaks out in music, with the playing of drums and musical instruments and begins to go back to the temple with the deity.

Below are more detailed descriptions of the 'royal hunt' rituals that take place in two well-known temples of Kerala.

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[13] In the appendix of the edition of the *Anuṣṭhānapaddhati*, the editor, Vasudevasomayaji, includes a chapter that describes the festival attributed to *Kāmikāgama* (The colophon of the appendix reads: *iti kāmikāgame śivapārvatīsaṃvāde utsavapaṭalaḥ*) and also provides in its notes a detailed description of the hunting procession under the headings, *śaivamṛgayātrā* and *vaiṣṇavamṛgayātrā*.

[14] While it is the King who shoots the arrow in the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī temple in Trivandrum, in other temples there are families who have the right to shoot the arrow.

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Paḷḷivēṭṭa in the Trivandrum Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī Temple[15]

The Trivandrum Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī temple is one of the important shrines of Viṣṇu in South India. It was recently in the news due to the discovery of the invaluable collection of treasures stored in the temple's secret chambers. There are two bi-annual festivals followed in this temple during the (Malayalam) months of *Tulām* (mid-October to mid-November) and *Alpaśi* (mid-March to mid-April) and which last for ten days. The festivals are celebrated with rituals such as *Anujñā* (obtaining permission to organise the festival), the hoisting of the flag, daily processions held inside the temple complex, the *Kāṇikka* or the special offering performed on the eighth day etc. The ninth and tenth days of the festivals are the most important ones and consist of the *paḷḷivēṭṭa* (royal hunt) and the *ārāṭṭu* (ceremonial bath).

On the day of the *paḷḷivēṭṭa,* a mock forest is set up in the middle of the public road nearly a kilometre from the temple and a tender coconut is placed therein. The route that the deities are supposed to take is washed and cleaned and spread with white sand. The deities[16] move out for the hunt when the conch is sounded at around 08.30 p.m. after the routine night procession inside the temple complex is concluded. The deities go out from the west gate of the temple and return through the north gate. On the way they halt for the hunting ceremony.

The king (the senior member of the Travancore royal family, the custodians of the temple) who is ceremoniously attired, carries the sword in his hand, while all the other members of his family are armed. Men representing the armed forces of the infantry, cavalry,

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[15] The seventh chapter, *Mṛgayāvarṇana*, in Svāti Tirunāḷ's *Syānadūrapuravarṇanaprabandham* describes the 'royal hunt' performed in the Padmanābhasvāmī temple in detail. See V.S. Sharma 1985: 947–953, Bayi 1995: 312–314. The description of the 'royal hunt' given in this paper is based on the way it is followed presently, which I have watched on several occasions; here the descriptions are taken from elsewhere (Sarma: forthcoming).

[16] Padmanābha, Narasiṃha and Kṛṣṇa are the three deities who participate in this hunting procession.

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artillery, spear-men etc., flag bearers and men dressed as soldiers with swords and shields add to the grandeur and colour of the procession. Mounted police and police on foot are also present.

The temple elephant goes first, the occasional clanking of its chains being the only sound since, until the hunting begins, total silence is maintained. Then follow the temple staff carrying the temple flags of varying shapes. While all those accompanying the procession walk on either side of the processional path, the king walks in the middle. Temple musicians follow soundlessly. The three vehicles carrying Lord Padmanābha in the centre and Lord Narasiṃha and Lord Kṛṣṇa, on the right and left respectively, follow the King. The procession reaches the hunting area and after performing a short ritual in the mock forest, the *Tantri,* or chief priest, gives a bow and arrow to the king. The king who is the executant of the Lord, prays to Him and shoots an arrow into the coconut. Until this point the procession has moved in total silence since it is supposed to be on a hunt. The moment the arrow pierces the coconut, the conch is sounded and the sound of musical instruments erupts into the atmosphere in an explosion of joy. The procession then wends its way back to the temple, entering through the north gate.

Paḷḷivēṭṭa in the Guruvāyūr Temple[17]

As in other temples of Kerala, the renowned Guruvāyūr temple, one of the principal Kṛṣṇa temples in India located in the Thrissur district of Kerala, also performs the '*paḷḷivēṭṭa*' or the 'royal hunt' ritual on the ninth day of the annual festival, but with certain distinct features. Once the *bali* offering inside the temple is over, the deity mounted on an elephant is taken through the nearby streets in a grand procession consisting of eight men dressed as soldiers carrying swords and shields, musicians and attendants carrying the imperial regalia

[17] For a detailed description of the 'royal hunt' ritual in the Guruvāyūr temple, see Seth 2009: 265–280.

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of flags and *sūrya-maṛa* or sun cover.[18] The *grāmabali* takes place during this procession, on the completion of which the deity returns to the temple to come out mounted on a cow-elephant, in readiness for the 'royal hunt', performed in silence. Many people dressed in costumes[19] representing animals are gathered outside the temple. One of them is dressed as a wild boar—the 'official' wild animal of the royal hunts. When the person playing the role of *paḍa-nāyakan* (commander-in-chief) of the Lord is ready to accompany, the Lord asks, "Have the animals come?", the crowd assembled there, the drummers as well as the men dressed as animals and the elephant carrying the Lord, all run into the temple and circumambulate the shrine nine times. During the last round, an effigy of a wild boar is pierced by an arrow, slung on a bamboo pole as if it has been killed by the Lord, and carried once around the temple. This marks the end of the 'royal hunt' ritual in the Guruvāyūr temple.

Paḷḷivēṭṭa and *Parivēṭṭai*

There is a ritual in Tamil Nadu known as *parivēṭṭai* which has some similarity to the *paḷḷivēṭṭa* ritual of Kerala. This ritual is performed in several temples of Tamil Nadu but at present it does not commonly include any performance with 'hunting' as the theme. The *parivēṭṭai* usually consists of a procession, often on a horse-vehicle[20] (*vāhana*).

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[18] A heart-shaped ornament carried during festival processions in Kerala.

[19] "Traditionally, devotees participate in the *paḷḷivēṭṭa* for one of two reasons: either because they believe it will ward off illness in the coming year, or because their mothers vowed that they would do so if they recovered from an illness; small children are carried by either their fathers or uncles." Seth 2009: 278–279.

[20] In the *Sāmrājyalakṣīpīṭhikā* (*The emperor's manual*), there is a chapter that describes the royal hunting (*mṛgayālakṣṇasvarūpakathanam*). While describing the dress code for the King during hunting the text states that the King should be dressed as a horse-soldier (*sādiveṣadhara*); See also '*hayārūḍhair atiprauḍhair mṛgayāyāṃ mṛgekṣaṇe*' (*Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā*, 130: 8ab).

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Since '*pari*' means horse in Tamil[21] and *vēṭṭai* means hunting, the word *parivēṭṭai seems* to indicate a procession on a horse for hunting.[22]

However, those South Indian *āgama* texts that can be dated from the 12th to 15th century[23] describe a ritual named '*pariveṣa*' or '*pariveṣana*', which, according to several scholars[24], is presently known as *parivēṭṭai*[25] in the local Tamil vernacular.

In the *Mahotsavavidhi*, attributed to Aghoraśiva,[26] a ritual manual setting out an ideal method for temple priests conducting a nine-day *mahotsava*, the *pariveṣana* (perambulation) is described thus:

> In the garden or some other pleasant place, at each corner, the god should be entertained at every step with offerings of fruit and other edibles and with betelnut and other condiments, along with Vedic praises and hymns, with the music of lute and flute, with singers and dancers and *Rudragaṇikas*. Then the deity is brought back to the temple.[27]

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[21] cf. Tamil Lexicon: 2508.

[22] cf. Tamil Lexicon: 3822.

[23] For a discussion on some of the South Indian *āgama* texts, see Goodall 2004: xiii–xxxiv.

[24] According to Sri Sambadha Sivacarya and Dr. Ganesan of IFP, the *pariveṣa* ritual is presently known as *parivēṭṭai*.

[25] In Vaiṣṇava shrines the *parivēṭṭai* is also known as *Vēḍu-pari*, see L'Hernault and Reiniche 1999: 3.73; there is a also a ritual known as '*pāḍiya-vēṭṭai*, which is similar to *Parivēṭṭai*. Though I have not found any reference to this in the texts, there is an inscription that mentions the *pāḍiyavēṭṭai* (ARE 1919: 482); This inscription "records the gift, by purchase, of the village Kūḍalūr agrahāram by Surappa-nāyaka, son of Pōttu-nāyaka of Kāśyapa-gotra, for the *pāḍivēṭṭai* and the *tōpputtirunāḷ* festivals." (ARE, GO No. 1003: 26). According to L'Hernault and Reiniche (L'Hernault and Reiniche 1999: 3.73–74), during this *pāḍiyavēṭṭai*, a scene is enacted which depicts the theft of jewels by Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār. Viraraghavacharya (Viraraghavacharya 1954: 563) observes that the "Padiya Vettai (Hunting) festival first commenced in 1456" in the Tirupati Temple.

[26] See on the discussion of the authorship of this text, Davis 2010: 9–13; See also Davis 1992: 367–378.

[27] "*tadyathā – udyānādiṣvevaṃ kaṇekaṇe* (!!!) *vedastutiśrutivīṇāveṇugāya-kanṛttakarudragaṇikāsahitaṃ phalādyupahārais tāmbūlādibhiś ca pade pade devaṃ*

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Davis (Davis 2010: 110) observes thus:

> the term *pariveṣaṇa* indicates service or attendance, and may be used to denote ceremonies of attendance in royal courts. But the *pariveṣaṇa* ceremony here, as Aghoraśiva describes it, involves the deity perambulating through parks and woods.

In the *Sūkṣmāgama*[28] (13: 254–266ab), after the *nagarabali*,[29] the deity arrives back at the temple and is taken to a *maṇḍapa* inside the temple; while the deity is in this *maṇḍapa* the *pariveṣa* ritual is performed. In this ritual, the decorated image of Śiva will be placed in a pavilion on a *siṃhāsana*. First fruits and flowers are offered followed by *nīrājana* and the ritual continues with several entertainments, including storytelling, enacting a battle, magic tricks, playing of music etc:

nānādeśakathāvākyaiḥ dharmayuddhādidarśanaiḥ[30] /
vinodavākyair anyaiś ca mahājālādidarśanaiḥ //
vīṇāveṇumṛdaṅgādivādyair anyaiś ca śobhitam /

> Along with entertainments, with the storytelling of different countries, show of righteous fighting, other diverting talks, and magic shows and so on, and other musical performances with lute, flute, drum etc.,

As in the *Sūkṣmāgama*, the *āgama*s such as *Rauravāgama* (18: 110) and *Dīptāgama* (87: 1–6) place the *pariveṣaṇa* rite in the temple's assembly hall, as part of an entertainment for the divine Lord. The description of this ritual in the *āgama* texts clearly shows that

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santoṣya ālayaṃ praveśayet." Davis 2010: 160.

[28] See also *Raurava*, *Kriyāpāda*:

śanaiḥ pradakṣiṇaṃ kṛtvā praviśyāsthānamaṇḍapam //
pariveṣakrameṇaiva pariveṣaṃ samācaret /
evaṃ pratidinaṃ kuryād aharniśi viśeṣataḥ //
(*Raurava*, KP, 18:105cd–106).

[29] In the Kerala texts *nagarabali* is referred to as *grāmabali*.

[30] Among the entertainments indicated, there is an enacting of warfare (*dharmayuddhādidarśanaiḥ*), which closely echoes the 'royal hunt' followed in Kerala.

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the *pariveṣaṇa* (perambulation) is intended to give pleasure to the deity through delightful offerings and enjoyable performances.

It is worth noting here that in the well-known Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple[31] during the annual festival (*mahotsava*),[32] on the 8th day of the festival, Lord Subrahmaṇya (usually it is Śiva who goes in procession) goes on a horse in procession to a nearby village and while he is there, an act of hunting, without any particular object to represent the quarry being included as is done in Kerala, takes place after which the temple elephant circumambulates around the Lord several times. In this temple the ritual is known as the '*pariveṣa*' (locally known as *parivēṭṭai*).

Even though the textual sources that describe the *pariveṣa* ritual do not mention a 'hunting' act, they do describe mock warfare in front of the deity (*dharmayuddhādidarśanaiḥ, Sūkṣmāgama,* 13: 259d), that rather resembles the hunting. The particular ritual performed in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple includes the act of 'hunting' and the *paḷḷivēṭṭa* performed in Kerala does carry an echo of this ritual.

'Royal hunt' and Mṛgayātrā

While we find that the Kerala texts prescribe the performance of a 'royal hunt' during the festival, it seems that they do not use the term '*mṛgayātrā*', or 'hunting procession', which is the most common

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[31] There is another well-known '*parivēṭṭai*' that is related to the renowned Sri Varadarajaperumal temple, Kanchipuram, where the Lord of this temple goes in an annual procession to the Laksmi-Narasimha Perumal temple in Pazhaya Seevaram village, located 20kms east of Kanchi Varadaraja Perumal temple on the Kanchipuram-Chengalpet State Highway. Once the Lord of Varadarajaperumal reaches the Pazhaya Seevaram village he is welcomed with a '*parivēṭṭai*' festival. But we find no hint of any hunting here, but simply a grand procession.

[32] The ritual described here was explained to me by Śrī Karthik Śivācārya, a priest of this temple. For a detailed discussion of the *parivēṭṭai* ritual in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, see L'Hernault & Reiniche 1999: 3.73–74.

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term in South Indian temple *āgamas*. For example in the *Ajitāgama*[33] (27: 271–272), *Uttarakāmika*[34] (6: 273–277) and in *Raurava*[35] (KP 18:111ff) we find the prescription for the *mṛgayātrā*.

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[33] *tīrtharkṣādahni pūrve tu mṛgayātrā bhavet tataḥ /*
tatpūrve'hni [ca] deveśaṃ nṛttarūpaṃ maheśvaram //
kṛṣṇagandhaṃ samālipya kārayec ca mahotsavam /
vyatyāsenāthavā caite kalpayet kalpavittamaḥ // Ajitāgama, 27: 271–272 //

[34] *mṛgayātrāṃ viśeṣeṇa snapanaṃ karma kalpayet /*
svakālavihitañ caitad iṣṭadaṃ parikīrtitam //
prātas sandhyārcanan nityaṃ yāgamaṇṭapaveśanam /
rathādyārohaṇaṃ yānan tato madhyāhnapūjanam //
rathe ced dhūpadānāntaṃ naivedyāntaṃ śivālaye /
yātrārthasnapanaṃ paścāt tato naimittikārcanam //
vinodadarśanañ cānte pradoṣe pūjanan tataḥ /
punar homaniveśaś ca tato grāmapradakṣiṇam //
yātrārthasnapanaṃ pūjā nṛttageyādi darśanam /
tato dhāma niveśaś ca devyā saha niveśanam //
(*Uttarakāmika* 6: 273–277) //;

See also *Uttarakāmika* 6: 278–327.

[35] *nṛttotsavasya kāle tu mṛgayāṃ vā samācaret //*
kāle vā mṛgayāyās tu tathā nṛttotsavaṃ bhavet /
vyatyāsenāśayā caitau kalpayet kalpavittamaḥ //
sukhāsanādibimbaṃ vā viśeṣāt tripurāntakam /
pratisaraṃ bandhayitvā pūrvoktavidhinaiva tu //
tathaiva ca dviguṇakām arcāṃ kṛtvā viśeṣataḥ /
sarvālaṃkārasaṃyuktaṃ daśāyudhasamanvitam //
gajāśvādisamārūḍhaṃ ghorarūpaṃ mahāravaiḥ /
yatheṣṭakāṣṭabhāgaṃ vā viśeṣākhyam abhāgakam //
kārayec chīghrayānaṃ ca nānābhaktajanais saha /
mṛgādīnāṃ vadhārthāya ghorarūpaṃ bhayāvaham //
tasmin vai mṛgayāne tu mṛgā vā yadi vā narāḥ /
hatāś cet prāṇinaḥ sarve śivasāyujyam āpnuyuḥ //
tataḥ śamanahomaṃ ca snapanādīni kārayet /
pūrvavat sthāpayed dhīmān sa puṇyāṃ gatim āpnuyāt //
(*Raurava*, KP, 18: 111–118);

In this passage (*Raurava*, KP, 18: 117) the *Raurava* speaks of animals as well as humans (*narāḥ*) killed during this procession who are elevated to the status of śiva (*śiva sāyujya*);

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In the *Mahotsavavidhi* too, we find a description of a procession[36] on the evening of the eighth day of the festival, but the text does not refer to it as *mṛgayātrā*. According to the description, on that evening during the *mahotsava*, 'Śiva is mounted on a horse vehicle and, at the time of procession, around him are the *Rudragaṇika*s, wearing

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In the description of a chariot procession by Oderic of Pordenone (1265–1331), in the 'Travels of Oderic of Pordenone into China and the East, in 1318, Section 6—Of a Strange Idol, and of certain Customs and Ceremonies', we find an echo of what *Raurava* mentions:

> "In the kingdom of Moabar there is a wonderful idol in the shape of a man, all of pure and polished gold, as large as our image of St. Christopher; and there hangs about its neck a string of most rich and precious stones, some of which are singly more valuable than the riches of an entire kingdom. [...] At each annual festival of this idol, the king and queen of the country, with all the pilgrims, and the whole multitude of the people assemble at the temple; and placing the idol on a rich and splendid chariot, they carry it from the temple with songs and all kinds of musical instruments, having a great company of young women, who walk in procession, two and two, singing before the idol. Many of the pilgrims throw themselves under the chariot wheels, that they may be crushed to death in honour of their god, and the bodies of these devotees are afterwards burned, and their ashes collected as of holy martyrs. In this manner, above 500 persons annually devote themselves to death. Sometimes a man devotes himself to die in honour of this abominable idol. On which occasion, accompanied by his relations and friends, and by a great company of musicians, he makes a solemn feast; after which, he hangs five sharp knives around his neck, and goes in solemn procession before the idol; where he takes four of the knives successively, with each of which he cuts off a piece of his own flesh, which he throws to the idol, saying, that for the worship of his god he thus cuts himself. Then taking the last of the knives, he declares aloud that he is going to put himself to death in honour of the god; on uttering which, he executes his vile purpose. His body is then burned with great solemnity, and he is ever after esteemed as a holy person." (quoted from (http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/kerr/vol01chap12sect01to05.html; accessed 7 August 2014.)

[36] *"rātrau gajārūḍhaṃ saptame rathaṃ rātrau kalpatarau aṣṭame prātaḥ āndolikā rātrau aśvāropaṇaṃ kṛtvā yānakāle aśvārūḍhā kuntādyāyudhayuktāḥ dhanuḥ kheṭakayuktāḥ sarvālaṅkārasahitarudragaṇikāḥ parito vrajeyuḥ."* Davis 2010: 160.

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all their ornaments, riding horses, and carrying weapons such as spears, bows, and shields.'[37]

Mahotsavavidhikrama Āgamaśekhara[38] has, however, a description of the *mṛgayātrā*, the hunting procession. According to this text, the *Rudragaṇika* (here called *Rudradāsa*s), wearing their ornaments and carrying weapons such as swords, shields, bows, arrows, and spears, surround Śiva, mounted on horses. They are accompanied by the auspicious sounds of the *bherī* drum, *paṭaha* drum, singing, and other instruments as they wander in a specifically westerly direction.[39]

As Davis (Davis 2010: 110–111) observes:

> Other Agama texts give different accounts of the *Mṛgayātrā*. For example, *Kāraṇāgama* recommends that Śiva present himself for this ceremony in the form of *Kirāta*, a mountain huntsman, or Tripurāntaka, conqueror of the three cities. Soldiers accompany him on the procession carrying a variety of weapons, along with all the local people. They should capture elephants, deer, monkeys, and various birds like peacock and cuckoo on this hunting expedition.[40]

We also find *mṛgayātrā* descriptions in other texts, such as *Uttarakāraṇa* (24: 103ff), *Makuṭa* (4: 217ff), *Suprabheda* (I, 14; 135b–136a) etc.

The *pāñcarātra-āgama*s seem not to have used the term *mṛgayātrā*, but we find the 'hunting ritual' mentioned there, too, with the terms, '*mṛgayā*', '*mṛgayotsava*' etc. For example in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, a 14th-century *pāñcarātra* text,[41] we find the usage of '*mṛgayotsava*' (13: 255b) and *mṛgayā* (13: 256c):

pūrvoktavidhinā kuryān mṛgayotsavam uttamam /
vane vane samānīya savilāsaṃ jagatpatim //
tatra tatra viśeṣeṇa samabhyarcya yathāvidhi /
mṛgayāṃ kārayet paścāt savinodaṃ munīśvarāḥ // 13: 255–256 //

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[37] Davis 2010: 110.

[38] For a detailed discussion on this text, see Davis 2010: 5.

[39] cf. Davis 2010: 110.

[40] See also *Rauravāgama*, Vol. I, p. 84, n. 16.

[41] cf. Matsubara 1994: 29–30.

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> The best type of hunting festival should be done following the procedures prescribed earlier. O great sages, taking the lord to each [part of the] forest with pomp, and offering special worship in those places then and there, following the procedures prescribed, the hunting festival should be performed with entertainments.

The references given above to the *mṛgayātrā* clearly show that these texts are indicating a 'hunting procession' as part of the *utsava*. *Mahotsavavidhikrama Āgamaśekhara* goes further, suggesting an actual hunt and stating that the soldiers, as well as the public, who accompany the deity in a hunting procession should 'capture elephants, deer, monkeys, and various birds such as peacocks and cuckoos on this hunting expedition'. Thus we see that not only the Kerala texts, but also the South Indian *āgama* texts give an important place to the depiction of the 'hunting ritual' during the festival.

Paḷḷivēṭṭa and Royal Consecration Rituals

It is significant that the hunting ritual that is performed in Kerala is called '*paḷḷivēṭṭa*', in which the word '*paḷḷi*' indicates royal relationship as[42] '*paḷḷi*' means 'anything belonging to royalty'[43]. In Kerala[44] the word *paḷḷi* is used as a prefix in some other rituals, such as, *paḷḷiuṇartal* (waking the deity up), *paḷḷikkurup* (putting the deity to bed) etc.

As L'Hernault and Reiniche (L'Hernault and Reiniche 1999: 3.73–74) observe, even though the *paḷḷivēṭṭa* (or *parivēṭṭai*) may be related to the royal consecration rituals (Heesterman 1957: 127–140), since in the royal consecration, during the 'chariot drive' ritual, there

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[42] Tamil Lexicon (2552) has a entry for this term and indicates that it is a mock-hunt: "*paḷḷivēṭṭai* - *paḷḷi*—a mock-hunt in the temple-festival at Trivandrum in which the Maharajah takes the chief part".

[43] cf. Tamil Lexicon: 2552.

[44] It is also seen in Tamil usage e.g.: *tiruppaḷḷiyaṟai*—bed-chamber of a deity; *tiruppaḷḷiyuṇarttu*—To sing an aubade and request a deity to wake up early in the morning; *tiruppaḷḷiyeḻucci*—a poem sung for waking up the deity in a temple.

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is a 'raid on a herd of a hundred or more cows' and also the 'shooting of an arrow', these two acts may not be enough to relate the '*paḷḷivēṭṭa*' to the royal consecration ceremony. But it is worth noting that these two acts are related to the consecration ceremony and are carried out on the day previous to it; similarly the *paḷḷivēṭṭa* is performed just before the ceremonial bath. Not only in the Kerala texts, but also in the early sources, we see that the Lord is given the status equal to that of an emperor,[45] and it is well-known that 'hunting' is a popular pastime among kings.[46] Thus, even though we do not find a clear relationship between the '*paḷḷivēṭṭa*' and royal consecration rituals, the hunt may be viewed as a pastime of the Lord, when He is compared to an emperor.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the early ritual manuals of Kerala, such as the *Śaivāgamanibandhana*, *Prayogamañjarī*, *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* etc., do not describe the *paḷḷivēṭṭa,* or 'royal hunt', to be performed on the day before the ceremonial bath. But the *Tantrasamuccaya* seems to have introduced the 'royal hunt' ritual into the festival and at present this ritual is performed with great ceremony in the temples of Kerala during the annual festival. As already mentioned, there are references to 'royal hunt' in the South Indian *āgama* texts and these may have been the source for the author of the *Tantrasamuccaya*, who might have consulted the South Indian āgama texts as well as the early Kerala ritual texts.

Even though, as we know, all the ritual texts produced in Kerala mention the *grāmabali* as an important ritual during the festival, in the majority of temples this ritual is not performed. This shows that in practice certain rituals given in the texts are skipped while

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[45] *cakravartyupacāreṇa sugandhāmalakādibhiḥ* (*Somaśambhupaddhati*, 1.1.33ab; *Kālottara*, Ms IFP T. 59, p. 40; *Bṛhatkālottara* (Ms A43/1 = A) 11:17ab); see also *Īśānagurudevapaddhati*, KP, 48: 042ab.

[46] See Sarangi 1993: 292–293; See also Chapter 130, *Mṛgayālakakṣaṇasvarūpakathanam*, in *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā*.

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at the same time others are given great importance and the details of their performance are altered according to the local context, as we have seen in the procedure of the 'royal hunt' performed in the Trivandrum Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī Temple and Guruvāyūr Temple.

Not only in Kerala, but elsewhere too, we see that certain rituals and customs of the temples need not strictly follow the ritual manuals that they are taken from, but are often influenced by local customs and practices.

It is also worthy of note that the authors of the ritual texts had a practical approach towards including or omitting certain rituals in the manuals they were composing. As we discussed at the beginning of this article, in Kerala, the early ritual texts produced were either *Śaiva* or *Vaiṣṇava* and the later manuals did not follow any particular system. While the early manuals, such as the *Śaivāgamanibadhana*, *Prayogamañjarī*, *Īśānagurudevapaddhati*, *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*, included rituals related to the initiation (*dīkṣā*) in detail, the later manuals, such as the *Tantrasamuccaya*, miss out the initiation ritual[47] completely and instead prescribe a '*mantradīkṣā*' (listening to the *mūlamantra* of a deity from the teacher) ritual. Since the later manuals do not follow a particular system, *Śaiva* or *Vaiṣṇava*, it might have been difficult for an author to describe the initiation ritual that essentially calls for a description in line with a particular system. From *Tantrasamuccaya* onwards we see that the ritual manuals of Kerala were written as guides for performing rituals in the temples, rather than as manuals for those seeking salvation.

[47] For a detailed study of this topic see, Sarma 2010: 443–454.

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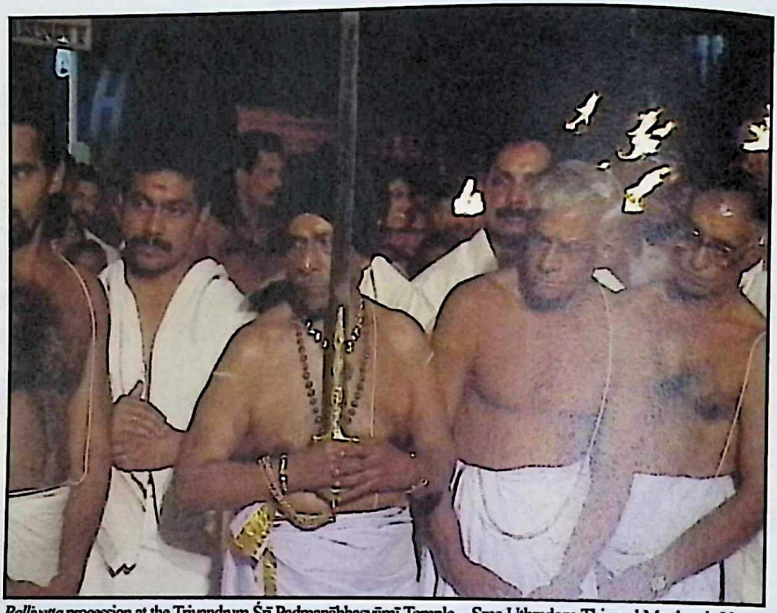
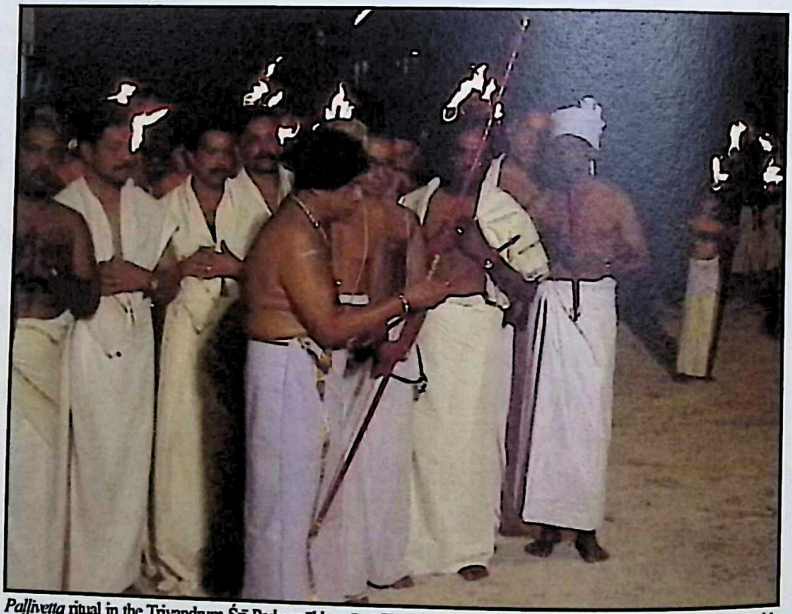


Paḷḷiveṭṭa procession at the Trivandrum Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī Temple—Sree Uthradom Thirunal Marthanda Varma leading the procession with a golden sword in his hand. (photography by S. S. R. Sarma)



Paḷḷiveṭṭa ritual in the Trivandrum Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī Temple—Sree Uthradom Thirunal Marthanda Varma with bow and arrow. (photography by S. S. R. Sarma)

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Five Great Sins (*Mahāpātakas*) with Special Reference to Śaiva Siddhānta

SUMMARY: The term *prāyaścitta* covers a number of rites and actions that are held to expiate or repair faults of omission and commission. In fact, many of the expiable offenses that are discussed in Saiddhāntika sources are not exclusively Śaiva but belong also to the realm of *smārta* traditions for they include such non-criminal and non-transgressive things as states of ritual impurity caused, for example, by life-events such as birth and death.

The expiatory procedure for the five great sins vary between Śaiva and *smārta* systems. Śaiva scriptures prescribe different types of *maṇḍalas* for these five great sins using five BRAHMA-*mantras* to expiate along with moon-related fasting of *kṛcchra*, *cāndrāyaṇa* etc., and initiation (*dīkṣā*) or an installation of Śiva (*pratiṣṭhā*). Most of the *smṛti nibandhas* say that the great sins are not expiable. Here I have focused on these two systems regarding the great sins, mainly taking into consideration the 12th-century Śaiva expiatory manual *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Trilocanaśiva.

KEYWORDS: Śaiva Siddhānta, sins, *prāyaścitta*, *maṇḍala*.

Introduction

Before going to the topic of *mahāpātakas*, let me say a few words about *prāyaścitta*. *Prāyaścitta* is a ritual which is performed by humans to eliminate the effects of their bad deeds. Humans are bound to make mistakes voluntarily or involuntarily. However, one has to repent

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these bad deeds and resolve them, so that they are not repeated. *Prāyaścitta* includes austerities such as fasting, chanting of *mantra*s, giving away gifts or visiting pilgrimage centers. *Prāyaścitta* comprises a number of rites and actions that are performed to expiate or repair faults of omission and commission.

Generally, we can find ritual prescriptions for an offense in *smṛti nibandhas* as well as in the Śaivāgamas. There are similarities and dissimilarities between these two traditions. Also, these traditions prescribe different ritual practices for the same offense. Just as there are *smṛti nibandhas* dealing with the *smārta* ritual procedures, we also have some ancient Śaiva ritual manuals, such as *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*[1] of Trilocanaśiva and *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Hṛdayaśiva,[2] that are exclusively devoted to expiatory rites, on which I have mainly focused in the present article.

1. Why *Prāyaścitta*?

As Trilocanaśiva in his treaties *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (3–4b) says:

> *sādhakādyair anuṣṭheyam ācāraṃ śivabhāṣitam |*
> *tadviplutau tadājñāyā laṅghane vyatyato yataḥ ||*
> *teṣāṃ tatparihārārthaṃ prāyaścittaṃ śivo 'vadat |*
>
> 'The duties of *sādhaka* and others [classes of initiate] have been taught by Śiva. Since there are negative consequences when these drop out [or] when His commands are transgressed, Śiva has taught expiation to avoid those [negative consequences] for these [various initiates].'

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[1] For *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Trilocanaśiva see Sathyanarayanan 2014.

[2] The oldest manuscript of the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Hṛdayaśiva is held in Cambridge University Library, where it bears the number MS Add 2833. Palm-leaf, early Newari script. Copied in Bhaktapur near Kathmandu in the reign of Ānandadeva and dated 1157/58 A. D. There are 45 expiatory (*Prāyaścitta*) chapters of Śaiva scriptures included in this text. The complete text of diplomatic transcription has been given as an appendix in Sathyanarayanan 2014.

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The typical rites and actions to be performed in expiation are listed in a quotation from the *Kālottara* that appears in the manual by Jñānaśambhu (*Jñānaratnāvalī*, GOML MS R 14898 p. 209):

snānaṃ japopavāsaṃ ca nityahomaś ca gaḍḍukāḥ |
pañcagavyāśanaṃ dānaṃ mārgaduṣkṛtanāśanam ||

'Bathing, *mantra*-repetition, fasting, regular obligatory oblations, reciting *mantra*s over pots, consuming a mixture of the five products of the cow (*pañcagavya*), donations—these destroy the [retributory consequences] of wrong-doings [of those] on the [Śaiva] path.'

These expiatory rites and actions are performed in various combinations; however, the most popular, and perhaps the only one that is frequently used, is the repetition (*japa*) of Śaiva *mantra*s, particularly the five BRAHMA-*mantra*s.

Then, who is liable to perform *prāyaścitta*?

Kūrmapurāṇa (2:30:2) states that *prāyaścitta* should be performed by:

akṛtvā vihitaṃ karma kṛtvā ninditam eva ca |
doṣam āpnoti puruṣaḥ prāyaścittaṃ viśodhanam ||

'A man [who] fails to perform his prescribed duties (*vihitakarma*) and commits disapproved (*ninditakarma*) acts becomes polluted; the expiation is the purificatory procedure for [such] a guilty man.'

*Prāyaścitta*s are observed on two occasions: if a man fails to perform his prescribed duties or if one commits disapproved acts. Then the questions will arise: what is *vihitakarma* and what is the *ninditakarma*? *Gautamadharmasūtra* (1:1) refers to them: *Vedo dharmamūlam* 'Veda is the root for [maintaining] *dharma*'. Vedas lead a man in the right path (*dharmamārga*) by teaching *vihitakarma* and *ninditakarma*. What the Vedas prescribe a man to do is *vihitakarma* (i.e. prescribed duties) and what they reject or disapprove of is *ninditakarma* (i.e. forbidden acts). Thus Vedas prescribe *sandhyāvandana*, *aupāsana*, *agnihotra* etc., which are the duties that should be performed by a man.

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And Vedas condemn eating meat or drinking liquor in passages such as: *na kalañjaṃ bhakṣayet, na surāṃ pibet* etc. These passages refer to *ninditakarma* one should abstain from.

Other Dharmaśāstra authors, such as Yājñavalkya (3:219) and Manu (11:44), reiterating the above instructions, add the control of sense organs (*indriyanigraha*) along with the commission of what is forbidden and the omission of what is ordained:

Yājñavalkyasmṛti:

vihitasyānanuṣṭhānān ninditasya ca sevanāt |
anigrahāc cendriyāṇāṃ naraḥ patanam ṛcchati ||

'A man is degraded [by] not observing the prescribed [duties]; repeating the prohibited [acts and] not restraining the sense organs.'

Manusmṛti:

akurvan vihitaṃ karma ninditaṃ ca samācaran |
prasajaṃś cendriyārtheṣu prāyaścittīyate naraḥ ||

'If a man fails to undergo the prescribed duties, performs the forbidden acts, and is attached to the sense objects, he is subject to an expiation.'

Controlling the senses is not easy for human beings. If one keeps sense organs under control, he will restrain from forbidden activities.

Garuḍapurāṇa[3] (1:105:1–4b) states that those who want to wash off their sins or demerits should undergo *prāyaścitta,* otherwise, they will go to terrible hell, such as *mahāraurava.*

Again, sins or crimes may be committed knowingly and unknowingly (*jñānataḥ–ajñānataḥ*), intentionally and unintentionally

[3] Cf. *vihitasyānanuṣṭhānān ninditasy ca sevanāt |*
anigrahāc cendriyāṇaṃ naraḥ patanam ṛcchati ||
tasmād yatnena kartavyaṃ prāyaścittaṃ viśuddhaye |
evam asyāntarātmā ca lokaś caiva prasīdati ||
lokaḥ prasīded ātmaivaṃ prāyaścittair aghakṣayaḥ |
prāyaścittam akurvāṇāḥ paścāttāpavivarjitāḥ ||
narakān yānti pāpā vai mahārauravarauravān |

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(*buddhipūrvaṃ–abuddhipūrvaṃ*) and openly and secretly (*prakāśe–rahasye*). The category of unintentionally committed mistakes often includes crimes that are in some way induced by circumstances.

Rules have been laid for assigning the expiatory procedures for different Śaiva initiates in *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (8) of Trilocanaśiva:

daivād rogāt tathā mohāc corarājabhayādibhiḥ |
ebhir doṣair akāmitvaṃ śeṣe jñeyā tu kāmitā ||

'When a person commits mistakes because of problematic factors such as fate, disease, delusion, [or] because of danger of thieves or kings and such, they are considered "unintentional"; in other cases they are "intentional".'

2. Determining the expiation

In prescribing 'penalties', other factors must also be taken into consideration: What is the gravity of the fault? What kind of initiate has committed it? Is the perpetrator a power-seeking *sādhaka* or *naiṣṭhika*? What is his age and state of health? What is the degree of his devotion? Are there any excusing factors? If the transgressor is unfit or unable to perform the expiation, other persons may do it on his behalf. The expiations are prescribed by an *ācārya*, ideally one's own guru, but in his absence a council of three, seven or fifteen *ācāryas* who have sound knowledge of scriptures and who themselves are observants may determine the penalties ordained by scriptures, which is clearly stated by Trilocanaśiva in his *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (19) as:

trisaptapañcadaśabhir ācāryais tantrapāragaiḥ |
svaśāstraniyatābhyāsair dattaṃ svagurubhir vinā ||

'In the absence of his own guru (*svagurubhir vinā*), [a reparatory rite may be] given by [a council of] three, seven or fifteen teachers who have reached the further shore of tantric scripture and who are fixed in the practice of [what is enjoined by] their own scriptures.'

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In general, the quantity of expiation (recitation or oblation) varies depending on whether the crime was intentional (*kāmāt*) or unintentional (*akāmāt*).

Some rules have been prescribed for assigning expiatory procedures in the *smṛti* texts as well as Śaiva scriptures:

Viṣṇusmṛti (54:33–34) reads:

> *aśītir yasya varṣāṇi bālo vāpy ūnaṣoḍaśaḥ |*
> *prāyaścittārdham arhanti striyo rogiṇa eva ca ||*
> *anuktaniṣkṛtīnāṃ tu pāpānām apanuttaye |*
> *śaktiṃ cāvekṣya pāpaṃ ca prāyaścittaṃ prakalpayet ||*
>
> 'A person of 80 years [of age] and a child below 16 years, and [also] women and those afflicted by disease, are entitled to half the [any given] expiation. The sins for which expiations are not prescribed, the ritual sequence may be prescribed [by the guru] after considering the above said factors.'

Similar passage from the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (9–12b) of Trilocanaśiva, also reads:

> *aśītir yasya varṣāṇi bālo vāpy ūnaṣoḍaśaḥ |*
> *prāyaścittārdham arhanti striyo vā vyādhipīḍitāḥ ||*
> *tatrāpi ca parikleśaṃ jñātvārdhārdhaṃ prakalpayet |*
> *deśaṃ kālaṃ vayaḥ śaktiṃ jātiṃ bhaktiṃ kriyākramam ||*
> *suvicārya pradātavyaṃ nopavāso rujānvite |*
> *prāyaścittāsamarthasya pitṛbhrātrādibāndhavaiḥ ||*
> *tadvibhajya vidhātavyaṃ dviguṇaṃ tu parair janaiḥ ||*
>
> 'A person of 80 years [of age] and a child below 16 years, and [also] women and those afflicted by disease, are entitled to half the [any given] expiation. And even in those cases, [the guru], considering their difficulties, may prescribe a quarter [of any given expiation]. Having well considered place, time, age, ability, caste, devotion and [the difficulty of] the ritual sequence, he should enjoin [expiatory rites]. There should be no fasting for one who is ill. For a person who is not able to perform a *prāyaścitta,* [the expiation] should be divided between his father, brothers and other relatives. [If it is shared] between others [who are not relatives], the expiations should be doubled.'

There exists a great discrepancy of views since ancient times as to whether *prāyaścitta* can destroy the sins which have been committed intentionally.

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Though these types of rituals are generally less studied, they occupy a very important place in the ritual scheme. *Prāyaścitta* is an important reparatory procedure followed in households as well as in temple rituals. These are elaborately discussed in Āgamic texts. *Prāyaścitta* is an obligatory rite that has to be followed before commencing the funeral rites, both by the followers of *smṛti* and by Śaiva initiates (specifically called *antyeṣṭi* by Śaivites). Dharmaśāstra texts based on *śruti* and *smṛti* deal with all aspects of rituals (obligatory, occasional and optional), including *prāyaścitta*. The Śaivāgamas also deal in detail with the same type of rites.

An important point of difference in *smārta prāyaścitta* and *śaiva prāyaścitta* is that the former prescribes various modes of fasting and recitation of Vedic passages for reparatory procedures, while the latter uses the Tantric or Āgamic procedures which include *maṇḍala*s, *mudrā*s, *mantra*s, *yantra*s or *cakra*s, which are worshipped predominantly with seed or root *mantra*s such as the five BRAHMA-*mantra*s (SADYOJĀTA, VĀMADEVA, AGHORA, TATPURUṢA and ĪŚĀNA).

Another important difference between the *prāyaścitta* rites in the *smṛti* and *tantra*s is that the *prāyaścitta*s in Tantric or Āgamic sources are prescribed specifically for Śaiva initiates (*dīkṣita*). This may be because the Āgamic rituals like *dīkṣā* etc. are prescribed for all the four *varṇa*s without any discrimination. *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*[4] (8:7cd) proclaims that the initiation can even be performed for Caṇḍāla. *Śāradātilaka*[5] probably quoting from *Kālottara* also reads similarly. The next verse of *Śāradātilaka* which is attributed to *Piṅgalāmata*[6] states that those who are pure in mind and devoted to the worship of the teacher, gods and twice born are eligible to receive initiation. The *smārta* or *vaidika* system is restricted to the study or performance of Vedic rituals only to three *varṇa*s.

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[4] Cf. *taṃ viditvā mahāsena śvapacān api dīkṣayet*|

[5] Cf. *etaj jñātvā mahāsena caṇḍālān api dīkṣayet* |p. 91.

[6] Cf. *brahmakṣatraviśaḥ śūdrāḥ arcāyāṃ śuddhabuddhayaḥ| gurudevadvijārcāsu ratāḥ syur adhikāriṇaḥ|| Śāradātilaka* as attributed to *Piṅgalāmata* p. 91.

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Further, in the Śaiva system, the rituals include the recitation of Āgamic *mantras* along with *vaidika* procedures, in particular types of fasting such as *kṛcchra* etc.

For example, in the expiatory procedures prescribed in the Śaiva system, one should recite the BRAHMA-*mantras* or other requisite *mantras* in addition to the expiatory observances of moon-related fasting such as *kṛcchra, cāndrāyaṇa, parāka* etc., which are also prescribed in *smṛti* texts.

Almost all *prāyaścittas* have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to Brahmins, undertaking pilgrimages and recitation of some Vedic *mantras* specific to some deities. Therefore, only a few typical sins with a brief description of their expiatory rites are discussed here.

3. Great sins (*Mahāpātaka*)

Authors of different *smṛtis* enumerated the five *mahāpātakas* in a slightly different order. Vasiṣṭha in his Dharmasūtra[7] refers to 'stealing of gold', which is one of the five grave sins, as 'stealing the gold of Brahmin'.

Kūrmapurāṇa (2:30:8) reads:

> *brahmahā madyapaḥ steno gurutalpaga ucyate |*
> *mahāpātakinas tv ete yaś caitaiḥ saha saṃvaset ||*
>
> 'One who kills a Brahmin, one who consumes alcohol, one who steals, one who has sex with one's guru's wife and one who lives with the persons who committed the above–stated [four] crimes are *mahāpātakins*.'

Garuḍapurāṇa (1:52:1), *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (2:73:52c–53b) and *Manusmṛti* (11:55) all read:

> *brahmahatyāsurāpānaṃ steyaṃ gurvaṅganāgamaḥ |*
> *mahānti pātakāny āhuḥ saṃyogaś caiva taiḥ saha ||*

---

[7] Cf. (1:19–20) *pañca mahāpātakāny ācakṣate| gurutalpaṃ surāpānaṃ brūṇahatyā brāhmaṇasuvarṇāpaharaṇaṃ patitasaṃyogaś ca ||*

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'Killing a Brahmin, drinking liquor, stealing, having sex with [one's] guru's wife—they call these "grave sins"; [and] so is establishing any links with such individuals.'

Śaiva manuals, the *Jñānaratnāvalī*[8] and the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (338) of Trilocanaśiva also followed the same order. For example:

brahmahatyāsurāpānaṃ steyaṃ gurvaṅganāgamaḥ |
mahāpātakam ity āhus tadyogāt pañcamaṃ bhavet ||

'Killing a Brahmin, drinking liquor, stealing (gold), approaching one's own guru's wife and associating oneself with a person who has committed any one of the above mentioned misdeeds are the five grave sins.'

Śaṅkhasmṛti (17:3) prescribes only four *mahāpātakas*.

hemasteyī surāpaś ca brahmahā gurutalpagaḥ |
vratenaitena śuddhyante mahāpātakinas tv ime ||

'Stealing gold, drinking liquor, killing Brahmin and approaching [one's] guru's wife—all these are grave sinners, [they are] purified by the observances.'

It does not mention the sin 'association' [the association of any one of the other four *mahāpātakas*] which is considered a fifth sin in the list of others.

The consequences of grave sins and minor sins have been stated in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (2:2:63) and *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (3:209) in the following manner:

brahmahā kṣayarogī syāt surāpaḥ śyāvadantakaḥ |
hemahārī tu kunakhī duścarmā gurutalpagaḥ ||

'A Brahmin slayer will be born with the disease of consumption or pulmonary tuberculosis; one who drinks liquor will born with black tooth; a person stealing the gold will born with the disease of his nails; one who approaches one's own guru's wife, will be born with the disease called leprosy.'

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[8] IFP Transcript 231, it is an exemplar namely of GOML R 14898 p. 219.

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The grave sinners after experiencing the hells such as *raurava* will be born to suffer as dogs, pigs, donkeys etc.

There are four chapters from the Śaiva expiatory manual *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Hṛdayaśiva dealing with this subject of five great sins in an exhaustive manner—If one commits any one of the great sins either intentionally or un-intentionally, whether it is knowingly or un-knowingly, he should undergo the expiatory procedure.

Drawing five *maṇḍala*s for the five great sins and worshipping them are prescribed in *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (3:1–2b) of Hṛdayaśiva for the five great sins along with the *mantra*s and the procedure of its observance:

> *sadyojātaṃ gavāṃ madhye vāmadevaṃ śivālaye |*
> *śmaśāne bahurūpaṃ tu vaktram agnitrayālaye ||*
> *īśānaṃ parvatāgre tu prāyaścittī japet sadā |*
>
> 'One who performs *prāyaścitta* should always recite Sadyojāta in the midst of cows [*gomaṇḍala*]; Vāmadeva in an abode of Śiva [*śivālayamaṇḍala*]; Bahurūpa at the cremation ground [*śmaśānamaṇḍala*]; Vaktra (i.e. Tatpuruṣa) in the abode of three fires [*agnihotramaṇḍala*] and Īśāna on the top of the hill [*parvatāgramaṇḍala*].'

The prescribed five *maṇḍala*s are:

1. *dhenumaṇḍala* for *brahmahatyā*—SADYOJĀTA
2. *śivālayamaṇḍala* for *surāpāna*—VAMADEVA
3. *śmaśānamaṇḍala* for *svarṇasteya*—AGHORA
4. *agnihotramaṇḍala* for *gurudāragamana*—TATPURUṢA
5. *parvatāgramaṇḍala* for *tatsahacāra*—ĪŚĀNA.

3.1. *Dhenumaṇḍala* for *brahmahatyā*

The chapter in the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (4:1—2b) of Hṛdayaśiva prescribes the five *maṇḍala*s. The chapter is in the form of conversation between Brahmā and Parameśvara, where Brahmā asks about the five *maṇḍala*s and their significance and Parameśvara demonstrates:

> *gomadhyam iti kiṃ proktaṃ kiñca proktaṃ śivālayam |*
> *śmaśānaṃ kiṃ smṛtaṃ deva agnihotragṛhaṃ ca kim ||*
> *kiṃ parvatāgraṃ deveśa vaktum arhasi tattvataḥ ||*

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'O supreme God! Deserve to be stated accurately [the significance of the five *maṇḍalas*] what is said as the center of the cows (*gomadhyaṃ*); and what is said [as] an abode of Śiva (*śivālayam*); o God what is prescribed as the cremation ground (*śmaśānam*); and what is an abode of the sacred fire (*agnihotragṛham*) and what is top of the hill (*parvatāgram*).'

The *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (339–347) of Trilocanaśiva gives the description of these *maṇḍalas* and provides information on how they should be worshipped and what for:

hatvākāmād dvijaṃ sadyo gavāṃ goṣṭhe japet tadā |
gomadhyaṃ goṣṭham ity āhur gosahasreṇa saṃmitam ||
gosahasrād adho goṣṭhaṃ brahman sāmānyam ucyate |
gomadhye maṇḍalaṃ proktaṃ saurabheyaṃ tu tat smṛtam ||
surabhyo yatra pūjyante ekādaśa savatsakāḥ |
aṣṭau dikṣu sthitā brahman tisro maṇḍalamadhyagāḥ ||
tāsāṃ madhye ca vṛṣabhaḥ svayam eva vyavasthitaḥ |
devyaḥ kāmadughādyāstāḥ surabhyas tat padātmikāḥ ||
maṇḍalaṃ cāṣṭahastan tan navadhā daśadhā bhavet |
caturasraṃ caturdvāraṃ caturvarṇasavīthikam ||
kāmadhug madhyame pūjyā jagadyonis tu dakṣiṇe |
uttare 'moghamātā ca prācyāṃ tu vṛṣabhāgrataḥ ||
prācyāṃ jagaddhite svāhā āgneyyām amṛte svāhā |
tejomālinī yāmye tu nairṛtyāṃ ca jagaddhitā ||
vāruṇyāṃ sarvaśaktis tu sarvalokasajīvanī |
vāyau saume ca varade svāhā svāhāditaḥ kramāt |
sarvatejaḥsaṃhāriṇi svāhā śvetavṛṣāgrataḥ ||

'If one unintentionally kills a Brahmin, one should recite the SADYOJĀTA-*mantra* in the "cow house among cows". They say that the "cow house among cows" is "measured" by [i.e. requires] a thousand cows. The regular cow house (*goṣṭha*), O Brahman, consists of less than a thousand cows. The *maṇḍala* is said to be drawn in the midst of 1000 cows; it is said to be the *saurabheya-maṇḍala*, in which eleven cows along with their calves are worshipped; [eight of them] placed in eight directions, O Brahman, [and] three [of them] in the center of the *maṇḍala*; and the bull itself is situated in the midst of them. These cows, beginning with Kāmadhuk, are goddesses having the nature of the words [of the *mantra*]. The *maṇḍala* should be drawn eight hands [long], or nine or ten, and [it should be] square, with four entrances and with four colours and it should have passage-ways.

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Kāmadhuk[9] should be worshipped in the centre [of the *maṇḍala*]; Jagadyoni [should be worshipped] in the South; in the North [of the *maṇḍala* should be] Amoghamātā; in the East in front of the *vṛṣabha* Jagadhṛdayatā by uttering the *sāvitrī-mantra*. In the East [one should worship Jagaddhitā with the *mantra*] *jagaddhite svāhā*; in the South-East [should be worshipped Amṛtā with the *mantra*] *amṛte svāhā*; in the South [should be worshipped] Tejomālinī; in the South-West [should be worshipped] Jagaddhitā; in the West [should be worshipped] Sarvaśakti; in the North-West [should be worshipped] Sarvalokasajīvanī; in the North [should be worshipped Varadā, using the *mantra*] *varade svāhā*; and in the North-East [should be worshipped] Sarvatejaḥ-saṃhāriṇī.'

In this way one should arrange the *maṇḍala* and sit in the *dhenumaṇḍala* and perform the expiation for killing a Brahmin.

For the reparation of a grave sin (*mahāpātaka*) *brahmahatyā*, the Dharmaśāstra author Yājñavalkya (3:243–50) says:

śiraḥkapālī dhvajavān bhikṣāśī karma vedayan |
brahmahā dvādaśābdāni mitabhuk śuddhim āpnuyāt ||

'The murderer of a Brahmin should hold the staff with head-bone attached to it and he should carry the bone of the murdered Brahmin in his other hand; he should announce himself as the murderer of a Brahmin, and should eat only a small quantity of the alms for twelve years whereby he becomes pure.'

The other alternatives by Yājñavalkya (3:244–45) are given in the following passages:

brāhmaṇasya paritrāṇād gavāṃ dvādaśakasya ca |
tathā 'śvamedhāvabhṛtasnānād vā śuddhim āpnuyāt ||
dīrghatīvrāmayagrastaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ gām athāpi vā |
dṛṣṭvā pathi nirātaṅkaṃ kṛtvā tu brahmahā śuciḥ ||

'He may be relieved of the sin of killing by saving the life of a Brahmin, the lives of 12 cows or by taking part in the bathing at the end of the horse-sacrifice. Or by saving a Brahmin who is suffering on road from chronic and severe disease or even a cow in that condition.'

[9] For better understanding of this *maṇḍala* see Sathyanarayanan 2014.

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Gautama,[10] Āpastamba[11] and Vaśiṣṭha[12] in their Dharmasūtras and *smṛti* texts such as those of Yājñavalkya and Manu also speak about the expiatory rites for the great sins. The reparatory rites prescribed for these sins are generally similar in these texts, i.e. one who has killed a Brahmin should remain in the forest for 12 years, recite the Vedas, get the alms for livelihood, should carry the skull bone and serve the cows and Brahmins.

Śaṅkha[13] adds that the sinner should bathe thrice every day; erect a cottage thatched with leaves in a forest; sleep on the ground; subsist on leaves, roots and fruits; enter a village for alms all the time

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[10] Cf. (22:2–10): *agnau saktir brahmaghnas trir avacchātasya | lakṣyaṃ vā syāj janye śastrabhṛtām | khaṭvāṅgakapālapāṇir vā dvādaśa saṃvatsarān brahmacārī bhaikṣāya grāmaṃ praviśet karmācakṣāṇaḥ | patho 'pakrāmet saṃdarśanād āryasya | sthānāsanābhyāṃ viharan savaneṣūdakoparśī śudhyet | prāṇalābhe vā tannimitte brāhmaṇasya | dravyāpacaye vā tryavaraṃ pratirāddhaḥ | aśvamedhāvabhṛthe vā anyayajñe 'py agniṣṭudantaś cet ||*

[11] Cf. (1:9:24:10–25): *tasya nirveṣaḥ | araṇye kuṭiṃ kṛtvā vāgyataḥ śavaśiradhvajo 'rdhaśāṇīpakṣamadhonābhyupari jānvācchādya | tasya panthā antarā vartmanī | dṛṣṭvā cānyam utkrāmet | khaṇḍena lohitakena śarāveṇa grāme pratiṣṭheta | ko 'bhiśastāya bhikṣām iti saptāgārāṇī caret | sā vṛttiḥ | alabdhopavāsaḥ | gāś ca rakṣet | tāsāṃ niṣkramaṇapraveśane dvitīyo grāmo 'rthaḥ | dvādaśa varṣāṇi caritvā siddhaḥ sadbhiḥ saṃprayogaḥ | ājipathe vā kuṭiṃ kṛtvā brāhmaṇa gayo 'pajigīṣamāṇo vaset | triḥ pratirāddho 'pajitya vā muktaḥ | āśvamedhikaṃ vāvabhṛtham avetya mucyate |*

[12] Cf. (20:25–28): *bhrūṇahāgnim upasamādhāya juhuyāt | lomāni mṛtyor juhomi lomabhir mṛtyuṃ vāsaya iti prathamām | tvacaṃ mṛtyor juhomi tvacā mṛtyuṃ vāsaya iti dvitīyām | lohitaṃ mṛtyor juhomi lohitena mṛtyuṃ vāsaya iti tṛtīyām | māṃsaṃ mṛtyor juhomi māṃsena mṛtyuṃ vāsaya iti caturthīm | snāvāni mṛtyor juhomi snāvabhirmṛtyuṃ vāsaya iti pañcamīm | medo mṛtyor juhomi medasā mṛtyuṃ vāsaya iti ṣaṣṭhīm | asthīni mṛtyor juhomy asthibhir mṛtyuṃ vāsaya iti saptamīm | majjānaṃ mṛtyor juhomi majjābhir mṛtyuṃ vāsaya ity aṣṭamīm iti | rājārthe brāhmaṇārthe vā saṃgrāme 'bhi mukham ātmānaṃ ghātayet | trir ajito vāparāddhaḥ pūto bhavatīti vijñāyate | dvādaśa varṣāṇy ātmanādiśya na grāme nāraṇye vaset khaṭvāṅgī kapālapāṇiḥ saptāgārāṇy asaṃkalpitāni cared bhaikṣaṃ bhrūṇahane bhikṣāṃ dehīti svakarmāvedayamāno |*

[13] Cf. (17:1c–3b): *nityaṃ triṣavaṇasnāyī krutvā parṇakuṭīṃ vane | adhaḥ śāyī jaṭādhārī parṇamūlaphalāśanaḥ || grāmaṃ viśec ca bhikṣārthaṃ svakarma parikīrtayan | ekakālaṃ samaśnīyād varṣe tu dvādaśe gate ||*

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declaring his misdeed and should eat only once a day. After spending 12 years in this manner, the *mahāpātakin* becomes free from that sin.

3.2. *Śivālayamaṇḍala* for *surāpāna*

Prāyaścittasamuccaya (348–353) of Trilocanaśiva reads:

pītvā 'kāmāt surāṃ vāmaṃ śivaharmye japet tadā |
sāmānyavācakaṃ brahman ekaliṅgaṃ śivālayam ||
maṇḍalaṃ tu viśeṣo 'tra śivālayam udāhṛtam |
pūjyante yatra vidhinā śivāḥ sṛṣṭipurassarāḥ ||
eka eva sthito madhye vyomavyāpī mahāśivaḥ |
tasya sṛṣṭiśivaḥ pārśve dakṣiṇe samavasthitaḥ ||
sthitaḥ sthitiśivo vāme karṇikāyāṃ śivāsane |
aiśānyāṃ tasya digbhāge saṃhārākhyaḥ śivaḥ sthitaḥ ||
anugrahaśivaḥ prācyām āgneyyāṃ muktidaḥ śivaḥ |
tirobhāvaśivo dakṣe rākṣase bhūtidaḥ śivaḥ ||
mūrtimūrtiśivāḥ sthāpya dikṣu śeṣāsv anukramāt |
maṇḍalaṃ kalpanīyaṃ tat pūrvavac caturaśrakam ||

'If one drinks liquor unintentionally, one should recite VĀMADEVA-*mantra* in [the *maṇḍala* called] "Śiva-temple". A "Śiva-temple", [as] a general term, O Brahman [refers to a temple] in which there is a single *liṅga*. But "Śiva-temple" is taught to have a [particular] *maṇḍala* as its special sense—[a *maṇḍala*] in which [a group of] Śivas beginning with Sṛṣṭi-Śiva are worshipped as per the rules. Alone in the center is invoked Vyomavyāpin, [who is] Mahā-Śiva; on his Southern side is invoked Sṛṣṭi-Śiva; to the North [but still] on the pericarp, [and] on the Śiva-thorne, is invoked Sthiti-Śiva. [On the petal] in the North-Eastern direction is invoked Saṃhāra-Śiva; on the Eastern side—Anugraha-Śiva; in the South-East—Muktida-Śiva; in the South—Tirobhāva-Śiva; in the South-West—Bhūtida-Śiva; in the remaining directions [viz. The West, North-West and North] in due order should be placed the Mūrtimūrti-Śivas. The *maṇḍala* should be made square, as before.'

For the guilt of *surāpāna*, *Garuḍapurāṇa* (1:52:8), *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (3:253–55) and *Manusmṛti* (11:91–93) prescribe similar expiatory rites: *Manusmṛti* reads:

surāṃ pītvā dvijo mohād agnivarṇāṃ surāṃ pibet |
tayā sa kāye nirdagdhe mucyate kilbiṣāt tataḥ ||

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gomūtram agnivarṇaṃ vā pibed udakam eva vā |
payo ghṛtaṃ vā maraṇād gośakṛd rasam eva vā ||
kaṇān vā bhakṣayed abdaṃ piṇyākaṃ vā sakṛn niśi |
surāpānāpanuttyarthaṃ vālavāsā jaṭī dhvajī ||

'If a Brahmin out of delusion drinks liquor, he should drink boiling-hot liquor; when his body is scalded by it, he will be released from that sin. Or, he may drink boiling-hot cow's urine, water, milk, ghee or watery cow-dung until he dies. Or, he may eat only broken grain or oil-cake once a day during the night for a full year, wearing a garment of hair, keeping his hair matted, and carrying a banner, in order to remove the guilt of drinking liquor.'

3.3. *Śmaśānamaṇḍala* for *svarṇasteya*

Prāyaścittasamuccaya (354–358) of Trilocanaśiva reads:

kṛtvā steyam akāmāt tu ghoraṃ pitṛvane japet |
śmaśānaṃ yatra dahyante jantavo jīvavarjitāḥ ||
nāsahasrād adhas tat syāt karavīrādikasya tu |
sāmānyavācakam idaṃ viśeṣo maṇḍalaṃ tv iha ||
bahurūpapadair eva ghorādyai rudrapaścimaiḥ |
śmaśānamaṇḍale hy atra catvāras tu śivāḥ smṛtāḥ ||
aghoraḥ padmamadhyastaḥ prācyāṃ ghoraḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ |
ghoraghorataro yāmye sarvo vāruṇadik sthitaḥ ||
rudras tathottarāśāstho maṇḍalaṃ tu caturdalam |
catuṣpretaśirorūḍhāḥ sarve pūyā vidhānataḥ ||

'If one unintentionally steals [gold], one should recite AGHORA in the cremation ground (*pitṛvane*). A *śmaśāna* is that place where lifeless creatures are burnt [and where] there are no less than a thousand trees such as oleanders. This is the general [sense of the] term; the special [sense] here, however, is a [particular] *maṇḍala*. In the *smaśāna-maṇḍala* these are held to be the four Śivas, [invoked] with words of the AGHORA beginning with GHORA and ending with RUDRA: AGHORA situated in the centre of the lotus; GHORA installed in the East; GHORAGHORATARA in the South; SARVA in the West; and RUDRA in the North. The *maṇḍala* has four petals. This indeed is the four petaled *maṇḍala*. All these [deities] are to be duly worshipped [visualised] as mounted on [seats made of] four skulls.'

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For the crime of stealing gold, Manu (11:100–03b) prescribes punishment in the following way:

suvarṇasteyakṛd vipro rājānam abhigamya tu |
svakarma khyāpayan brūyān māṃ bhavān anuśāstv iti ||
gṛhītvā musalaṃ rājā sakṛd dhanyāt tu taṃ svayam |
vadhena śuddhyati steno brāhmaṇas tapasaiva vā ||
tapasāpanunutsus tu suvarṇasteyajaṃ malam |
cīravāsā dvijo 'raṇye cared brahmahaṇo vratam ||

'A Brahmin who has stolen gold should go up to the king, proclaim his misdeed and say "lord punish me". Taking a pestle, the king himself should strike him once. A thief is purified by being put to death or, if he is a Brahmin he becomes pure solely by ascetic toil. If a twice-born wants to rid himself of the sin of stealing gold by means of ascetic toil, however, he should carry out the observance prescribed for killing a Brahmin, living in the wilderness and dressed in tree bark.'

For the same crime, Yājñavalkya (3:257ab) says: *brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī tu rājñe musalam arpayet*—'If a person steals the gold of a Brahmin, he should proclaim himself as a thief and submit a pestle to the king.'

3.4. *Agnihotramaṇḍala* for *gurudāragamana*

Prāyaścittasamuccaya (359–364) of Trilocanaśiva reads:

gurustrīgamanaṃ kṛtvā pramādāc ca japen naram |
agnihotragṛhaṃ brahman hīyante yatra vahnayaḥ ||
no sahasrād adhas tat syān mohāt sāmānyavācakam |
agnihotragṛhaṃ tv atra viśeṣo maṇḍalam smṛtam ||
tribhiḥ padais tu devasya tad dhi tatpuruṣasya ca |
haranetratrayākāraṃ viśeṣas tv iha kīrtyate ||
pūrvaṃ vedāśrakaṃ vṛttaṃ vāruṇaṃ yāmyam induvat |
yatra vai gārhapatyo 'gnir devas tatpuruṣaḥ sthitaḥ ||
āhavāgnir mahādevo rudraḥ syād dakṣiṇo 'nalaḥ |
paścime puruṣo devo mahādevaḥ puraḥ sthitaḥ ||
rudras tu dakṣiṇe bhāge maṇḍalaṃ parikīrtitam |
pūjyante yatra deveśāḥ puruṣe bhuktimuktidāḥ ||

'If one has congress with one's guru's wife by mistake, one should recite TATPURUṢA. O Brahman, the *agnihotragṛha* is where fire oblations are made, not less than a thousand: this is [held] mistakenly to be [the sense,

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when the expression is treated as] a general term. But *agnihotragṛha* here is a special [term, the sense of which] is held to be [a particular] *maṇḍala*. That [*maṇḍala*] indeed (*hi*) [is made] with the three parts (*padaiḥ*) of the Lord Tatpuruṣa. A special [term for this *maṇḍala*], however, is proclaimed here [in this scripture] to be 'the three eyes of Hara'. The Eastern [part of the *agnihotra-maṇḍala*] is square; the Western is circular; and the Southern is like the [crescent] moon. Where the *gārhapatya* fire is [i.e. in the circle in the West], there resides the deity Tatpuruṣa. Mahādeva is the *āhavāgni*; Rudra is the Southern fire (*dakṣiṇāgni*). [In other words,] in the West is the deity [Tat]puruṣa; Mahādeva is situated in the East; and Rudra is in the Southern part. The *maṇḍala* has [thus] been taught [to be the one] in which are worshipped [these three] deities, who bestow *bhukti* and *mukti* upon man (*puruṣe*)[14]."

For the crime of congress with one's guru's wife, Yājñavalkya (3:259–60) and Manu (11:104–07) both prescribe utmost punishment. For example *Manusmṛti* reads:

gurutalpo 'bhibhāṣyainas tapte svapyād ayomaye |
sūrmīṃ jvalantīṃ vā 'śliṣyen mṛtyunā sa viśudhyati ||
svayaṃ vā śiśnavṛṣaṇāv utkṛtyādāya cāñjalau |
nairṛtīṃ diśam ātiṣṭhed ā nipātād ajihmagaḥ ||
khaṭvāṅgī cīravāsā vā śmaśrulo nirjane vane |
prājāpatyaṃ caret kṛcchram abdam ekaṃ samāhitaḥ ||
cāndrāyaṇaṃ vā trīn māsān abhyasen niyatendriyaḥ |
haviṣyeṇa yavāgvā vā gurutalpāpanuttaye ||

'If a man had sex with one's guru's wife, he should proclaim his crime and lie down on a heated iron bed, or embrace a red-hot metal cylinder; he is purified by death. Or, he may cut off his penis and testicles by himself, hold them in his cupped hands and walk straight towards the south-west direction until he falls down dead. Or, he may perform *prājāpatya* penance for one year with a collected mind, carrying a bed-post, dressed in tree bark, wearing a long beard and living in a desolate forest. Or, he may perform the lunar penance (*cāndrāyaṇa*) for three months, keeping his organs under control and subsisting on sacrificial food or barley gruel, so as to remove the sin of sexual intercourse with his guru's wife.'

[14] It is possible that this is included to suggest a *nirvacana* or a justification for this being a *maṇḍala* that uses the Tatpuruṣa *mantra*.

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3.5. *Parvatāgramaṇḍala* for *tatsahacāra*

Prāyaścittasamuccaya (365–369) of Trilocanaśiva reads:

yogaṃ pātakibhiḥ kṛtvā nagāgre pañcamaṃ japet |
parvatāgraṃ tu śikharaṃ sāmānyaṃ parikīrtitam ||
tadvarṣaparvatānāṃ syāt kulādrīṇāṃ ca kīrtitam |
veśeṣo maṇḍalaṃ brahman parvatāgram iti smṛtam ||
merus tu varṣaśailānāṃ pradhānaḥ parikīrtitaḥ |
vindhya eva kulādrīṇāṃ catuḥ śṛṅgāv ubhāv api ||
īśānaḥ parvato jñeyaḥ parvataḥ parvavān iti |
parvety arthavaśāt saṃjñā vācyavarṇapadātmikā ||
vācyānyasya tu parvāṇi catvāry uktāni śāsane |
sadāśivākhyaṃ yadvācyaṃ tadagraṃ parikīrtitam ||

'If one associates with those guilty [of any one of the other four *mahāpātakas*], one should recite ĪŚĀNA on a "mountain top". The top of a mountain is taught to be a general [term with the sense] *śikhara*.
That [mountain-top] may be on one of the [nine] *varṣācalas*,[15] or [seven] *kulācalas*.[16] [But] the special [sense intended] with "mountain-top", O Brahman, is [a particular] *maṇḍala*.
Meru is proclaimed to be the principal [mountain] among the *varṣa*-mountains; Vindhya among *kula*-mountains. Both of these have four peaks. Īśāna is known as "*parvata*". Parvata [means] (*iti*) "having parts" (*parvavān*). The element "*parva*" from context, [must be understood to be] a name for a unit [made up] of utterable sounds (*vācyavarṇātmikā*). Of him [viz. ĪŚĀNA] there have been taught in this scripture to be four utterable parts. As for the utterable unit [at the end of the ĪŚĀNA-*mantra*] "Sadāśiva", that is proclaimed to be [its central] "peak".'

---

[15] See e.g., *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* 10:32c–33:

himavān hemakūṭaś ca niṣadho nīla eva ca |
śvetaś ca śṛṅgavāṃś caiva gandhamādana eva ca ||
mālyavān atha meruś ca navaite varṣaparvatāḥ |

[16] See e.g., *Svacchandatantra* 10:156c–57b:

mahendro malayaḥ sahyaḥ śaktimān ṛkṣaparvataḥ |
vindhyaś ca pāriyātraś ca bhānty ete kulaparvatāḥ ||

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For the crime of associating oneself with those guilty of any one of the other four *mahāpātaka*s, Yājñavalkya (3:261) states:

> *ebhis tu saṃvased yo vai vatsaraṃ so 'pi tatsamaḥ |*
>
> 'When a man forges links with any one [of the sinners] for one year, he becomes equal to [the sinner].'

Hence, he should perform the same observance as prescribed for the *mahāpātakin* in order to purify himself of his association with him.

After stating the required *maṇḍala*s for these five great sins, *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (370–371) of Trilocanaśiva now prescribes the quantity of the recitations.

> *goṣṭhādiṣu sthito 'kāmād rahasye lakṣam abhyaset |*
> *kāmatas tu rahasye cej japel lakṣadvayaṃ sudhīḥ ||*
> *akāmataḥ prakāśe cej japel lakṣacatuṣṭayam |*
> *kāmatas tu prakāśe ced aṣṭalakṣaṃ tato japet ||*
>
> 'One [who has committed one of the five *mahāpātaka*s] without being observed [by others] and unintentionally, [he] should stand [in the appropriate *maṇḍala*] and recite the prescribed *mantra* [i.e. SADYOJĀTA for *brahmahatyā*, VĀMADEVA for *surāpāna*, AGHORA for *svarṇasteya*, TATPURUṢA for *gurudāragamana* and ĪŚĀNA for *tatsahacāra*] for one lakh times. But if he has done the sin intentionally [and] without being observed [by others], a wise person should recite [the *mantra*] two lakh times. If he has done so unintentionally but openly, then he should recite [the *mantra*] four lakh times. If intentionally and openly, then he should recite [it] for eight lakh times.'

After worshipping the *maṇḍala* with the recitations as reparation one should also undergo the observances of fasting, which are described in the following verses in the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (372–374b) of Trilocanaśiva:

> *cāndrāyaṇaṃ parākaṃ ca kṛcchraṃ caiva yathākramam |*
> *taptakṛcchram atikṛcchraṃ brahmahatyādipañcasu ||*
>
> 'He should perform *cāndrāyaṇa*, *parāka*, *kṛcchra*, *tapta-kṛcchra* and *ati-kṛcchra* respectively for the five [sins of] *brahmahatyā* etc.'

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At the end [of such performance] he becomes pure through initiation. Alternatively, installation of Śiva.

akāmādi caturṣv etad ekadvicaturaṣṭadhā |
ācared vratam evaṃ tad ante śuddhyati dīkṣayā ||
pratiṣṭhayā vā kathitaṃ mahāpātakaśodhanam |

'For these four types[17] [of transgression] beginning with accidental [non-observed transgression] one should perform the [enjoined expiatory] religious observances in this way once, twice, four times and eight times [respectively]; at the end [of such performance] one will become pure through initiation. Alternatively, purification for the great sins has been told [to come about] by performing an installation [of Śiva].'

Further passages from *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (374c–375) of Trilocanaśiva, which are probably drawn from the Śaiva scripture *Vāthula*, describes the general statement of expiatory procedure for the sin of keeping contact with the great sinners.

mahāpātakayuktānāṃ darśanaṃ parivarjayet |
ālāpād ayutāc chuddhir dviguṇāt sparśato matā ||
śayanāt tryayutāc chuddhir bhojanāl lakṣataḥ śuciḥ |

'One should avoid looking at those who have committed [one or another of] the [five] great sins. One who talks [with such a person] will be purified by reciting [AGHORA] ten thousand times; becomes purified by reciting twice the number for touching [them]; becomes purified by reciting thirty thousand times for sleeping [beside them]; becomes purified by reciting one lakh for eating [with them].'

4. Secondary crimes (*Upapātaka*)

As far as the *upapātakas* are concerned, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (3:234–242) prescribes a long list, according to which Yājñavalkya[18] (3:265)

[17] Probably *akāmādicaturṣu* means—1. *akāmād rahasye*; 2. *kāmato rahasye*; 3. *akāmāt prakāśe*; 4. *kāmataḥ prakāśe*.

[18] Cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*: *upapātakaśuddhiḥ syād evaṃ cāndrāyaṇena vā | payasā vāpi māsena parākeṇātha vā punaḥ ||*

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prescribes the purificatory procedure for *upapātakas* by undergoing *cāndrāyaṇa* observance subsisting either on milk or on water, or by undergoing *parāka* fast.

Whereas the Śaiva reparatory manual *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (427c–428c) of Trilocanaśiva says:

> *upapātakaśuddhiḥ syād aindavena vratena tu |*
> *payasā vāpi māsena parākeṇāpi vā bhavet ||*
> *aghoralakṣato vāpi*
>
> 'The secondary crimes will be purified by the *aindava* [=*cāndrāyaṇa*] or by [living off] water (*payasā*) for a month or by the *parāka*; or by reciting AGHORA one lakh times.'

In addition to the *cāndrāyaṇa*, *parāka* as a reparation for *upapātakas*, which are mentioned in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, the recitation of AGHORA-*mantra* one lakh times is prescribed, which is specific to the Śaiva Āgamas.

Conclusion

As was mentioned at the beginning of the text, it is still debatable whether the *prāyaścitta* can destroy the sins which are committed intentionally. Manu (11:90) clearly states that:

> *iyaṃ viśuddhir uditā pramāpyākāmato dvijam |*
> *kāmato brāhmaṇavadhe niṣkṛtir na vidhīyate ||*
>
> 'This expiation has been prescribed for unintentional killing of a Brahmin, but for intentionally slaying a Brahmin there is no expiation.'

Similarly, *Kūrmapurāṇa* (2:30:17–18) further adds:

> *akāmataḥ kṛte pāpe prāyaścittam idaṃ śubham |*
> *kāmato maraṇāc chuddhir jñeyā nānyena kenacit ||*
> *kuryād anaśanaṃ vātha bhṛgoḥ patanam eva vā |*
> *jvalantaṃ vā viśed agniṃ jalaṃ vā praviśet svayam ||*
>
> 'This above-said expiation is for the grave sins which are committed unintentionally. For the intentionally committed sins there is no expiation

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except death, as it cannot be expiated by any other means. Alternatively, one should fast, even fall from a precipice, enter the flames of a fire, or voluntarily enter the water.'

Though some of the *smṛti* texts appear to prescribe possible expiations for great sins, it is quite evident that one cannot be alive after undergoing such hellish prescriptions. Ultimately, as far as the great sins are concerned, they are not expiable according to *smṛti* texts. However, we see that the Śaivasiddhānta offers a man a possibility to purify himself even after committing grave sins which are committed intentionally. It is very much probable that a man after committing such grave sins and expiating for them may lead a good and peaceful life till his death. These expiatory rites prescribed in the Āgamas and referred to in *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Trilocanaśiva and *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Hṛdayaśiva give a chance to such sinners to mend their ways and lead a good life.

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Women in Early Śākta Tantras: Dūtī, Yoginī and Sādhakī*

SUMMARY: Rather than studying various manifestations of the "divine feminine" in Hindu tantric texts, this paper proposes to examine the ritual role of women in the earliest (seventh to ninth centuries CE) scriptural sources that teach the cult of goddesses and other divine females (*yoginīs*). Women have three main ritual roles in these sources, which often overlap: they may be (1) consorts in sexual rites (*dūtī/śakti*), (2) witch-like semi-divine *yoginīs*, who transmit the doctrine and help practitioners to obtain supernatural powers, and (3) female practitioners (*sādhakī/bhaginī*), who are initiated in the same way as male ones. Concerning the last category, it is shown that women had the right to receive full initiation according to early *śākta* scriptures (which was not the case according to mainstream *śaiva* Tantras) and were able to practice the same rites for the same purposes as men.

KEYWORDS: female practitioners, *yoginī* cult, women in early medieval India, women's rights to perform ritual, tantric ritual, Hindu *śākta* scriptures.

Women and Tantra

Much has been written about the role of the "divine feminine", goddesses and other female divine or semi-divine beings in classical India.

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Such studies, whether they explicitly stated it or not, also intended to shed more light on the history of women and their role in India, a subject that is difficult to explore in many ways, most importantly because our sources, mainly in Sanskrit, were written by and concentrate on men rather than women. This paper therefore attempts to examine the role of actual flesh-and-blood women rather than various (divine or less divine) manifestations of "the female,"[1] and to do so in a particular type of texts: in the earliest *śākta* scriptures or Tantras that teach the cult of *yoginīs*.[2]

A large amount of work remains to be done, most importantly editions of the texts, in order to study this question in the whole of tantric literature in a chronological perspective. In the present state of research, it seems more reasonable to try to give an overall view of how women are represented in a limited corpus, which, in this case, is dateable between the seventh and the ninth centuries CE, and which forms the earliest layer of this literature.[3] This does not imply that references to other texts should be excluded, but the main sources for this study will be the *Brahmayāmala* and the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the former teaching mainly cremation ground practices involving the cult of Kapālīśa, Caṇḍā Kāpālinī and an associated pantheon of various enneads, the latter prescribing the tantric cult of a triad of goddesses, Parā, Parāparā and Aparā. Both texts include long sections on the ancillary

[1] Patton 2002a: 4 emphasizes the problem inherent in creating a single, inventorial category of "female." In connection with goddesses and women, it is nevertheless of interest to see that women may have been, at least in some contexts, more devout worshippers of goddesses than men. See Orr 2007, who points out that proportionately, more special offerings were made to goddesses by women than by men in medieval Tamil Nadu.

[2] The role of women in mainstream Hinduism, especially in more recent periods and in contemporary India, has been studied more extensively, see e.g. Leslie 1992, Patton 2002 and Pintchman 2007.

[3] For a study of particular women, namely female poets, in the *śaiva/śākta* tradition belonging to various periods and regions, see Gupta 1992.

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cults of other deities and divine beings, most notably the cult of witch-like semi-divine creatures called *yoginīs* or *yogeśvarīs*.[4]

It must also be pointed out that no matter what kind of information appears about women practitioners in these texts, it cannot be taken to represent historical or social facts. Just as most religious writings in India, these texts are normative and describe an ideal state of things, which can sometimes appear even fanciful.[5] This, however, does not need to prevent us from examining the ways in which women are represented in them.

Finally, given the limited sources this paper uses, its purpose is to show a few examples and contexts in which the role of women could be examined in tantric texts, and to incite others to explore more about the subject. It is to be hoped that with more research in this direction, we shall be better equipped to assess the situation of women in classical India.

For practical purposes, I distinguish between three major ritual roles that early *śākta* tantric texts assign to women.[6] As we shall see,

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[4] Let us remark here that these and most other, related tantric texts of the period cited in this paper are written in a non-standard Sanskrit most often called *aiśa* "belonging to the Lord" in the exegetical literature. For a description and analysis as to how these irregularities are related to linguistic phenomena that can be found in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit and in Middle Indic, see Törzsök 1999: xxxv–xlvii. The irregular forms shall not be pointed out or analyzed in this paper, for it would take up much space and such a linguistic analysis is not directly relevant to the argument presented here. Moreover, when citing MSS, I have refrained from correcting obvious spelling mistakes or orthographic variants, such as the confusion of nasals and sibillants, omission of *visarga*s and *anusvāra*s etc.

[5] On the limitation of what normative texts can tell us, see Sanderson 2013: 215–16.

[6] This paper does not deal with all the roles and representations of women in tantric texts; therefore the prescriptions of ritual to attract women will not be dealt with, nor the thousands of women populating various paradise-like places in the universe.

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these three categories are rather fluid and their boundaries are not necessarily clearly fixed. Their names and their functions often overlap; nevertheless, it seems useful to distinguish between them.[7]

The first category is the female ritual partner who is used by the *sādhaka* (male practitioner) in his ritual. She usually acts as the instrument to accomplish ritual action. The second category covers human *yoginīs*, women who possess supernatural powers and are worshipped to bestow them. They often play the role of the object of ritual in the sense that it is their worship the *yoginī* cult primarily teaches; but they also serve as useful means, sources to obtain impure substances. The third category is the female practitioner, who is very rarely mentioned. She is the female equivalent of the *sādhaka* and is therefore the subject who performs the ritual. Since the first two categories, which are more frequently encountered, have often been examined in the secondary literature with reference to other texts, I refrain from analyzing all the details concerning them (which would be impossible in the case of *yoginīs* anyway). The third category, that of female practitioners, occurs much less frequently and it is especially this category the present paper concentrates on, in order to contribute to a fuller understanding of the sources.

1. The female ritual partner (*dūtī/śakti*)

A female ritual partner, most commonly called *dūtī* ("female messenger" or "mischief-making woman") or simply *śakti* ("female power"), is not necessary for all *śākta* tantric rituals. The *Brahmayāmala* prescribes the use of a partner only for the *tālaka* type practitioner, who nevertheless seems to be the most advanced in his nondual ritual practice, in which he is to transcend the duality of what is considered pure

[7] There are other possible ways of distinguishing between different females. See e.g. McDaniel 2007, who lists the following three categories found in textual sources: incarnations of goddesses, consorts for sexual rituals and female gurus. However, the sources used in McDaniel 2007 are different, for they include only much later, *kaula* scriptures.

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and impure according to orthopraxy. The definition of such a female partner is as follows:

> When the *sādhaka* has acquired a charming *dūtī*, then, his body purified, he may commence the *tālaka* Path. [She can be characterised as one who] has received the guru's instructions, is beautiful, is endowed with [all] auspicious features, has mastered the sitting postures, is of heroic spirit, steeped in the essence of the Tantras, is loyal to her guru, deity and husband, has conquered hunger, thirst and fatigue, dwelling always in non-duality, she has no qualms (*nirvikalpa*), is non-covetous, knows [how to reach] Samādhi, knows Yoga, knows Knowledge [i.e. this doctrine], and has accomplished her ascetic observances (*saṃśritavrata*).[8]

This *dūtī*[9] figures prominently in several chapters (22, 24, 40 and 45) which belong to the earliest textual stratum of the *Brahmayāmala*. It is chapter 24 that prescribes rites concerning the "secret nectar" (*guhyāmṛta*), which denotes the mingled sexual fluids to be obtained with the help of a *dūtī*/*śakti*.

The female partner must be made immobile and delirious with intoxication. The appropriate mantras, representing the pantheon, should be placed on her genitals at the time of orgasm (*kṣobha*). She must also have her period, in order to produce the required substances.[10]

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[8] *yadā tasya bhaved dūtī sādhakasya manoharā || tadā tālakamārgaṃ tu śuddhakāya samārabhet | guru-m-ādeśasamprāptā śobhanā lakṣaṇānvitā || jitāsanā mahāsattvā tantrasadbhāvabhāvitā | gurudevapatibhaktā kṣut-pipāsājitaśramā || advaitavāsitā nityaṃ nirvikalpā hy alolupā | samādhijñātha yogajñā jñānajñā saṃśritavratā ||* 45.185c–188. Edition and translation by Csaba Kiss (forthcoming: 266). I have slightly altered the translation on two points. I translate *nirvikalpa* as "has no qualms" rather than "is non-reflecting" and I understand *saṃśritavrata* to stand for *saṃśitavrata* in the sense of "one who has accomplished her observance(s)" rather than "she who practices observances." On the *dūtī*, see also *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa vol. III*.

[9] For other senses of *dūtī*, see the entries *dūtī* and *dūtīcakra* by Csaba Kiss and André Padoux in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa vol. III*.

[10] 24.8c–9d: *niśceṣṭāṃ kārayec chaktiṃ kṣare' ca madavihvalāṃ || kṣobhakāle tu nyastavyaṃ śaktipīṭhe mahāyase | anyam cāpi prayoktavyaṃ*

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After ritual intercourse, the practitioner must wash the *śakti*'s genitals and gather the liquid in a receptacle. He is then to make a "rice offering" (*caru*) with that, which implies (although the procedure is not explained) that he uses the liquid either to incorporate it in an offering or to cook the rice in it to make the offering.[11] This offering (*naivedya*) is divided into three parts, of which one is given to the fire, one to the deity, one to the performers of the ritual,[12] for both, the *sādhaka* and the *śakti* eat from the offering.[13] The *śakti*'s "supreme nectar" (*parāmṛta*) is praised in this context as something that bestows all desires.[14]

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kṣobhayet kautukena tu || rajasvalā tu yā śakti bhavanti ritavodbhave{t}. It is also stated that the *śakti* should not have the need to pass urine (24.118c–119b): *na caruṃ sādhayet tatra guhyāmṛtavidhiḥ prati || kalpakāle yadā śakti āvasyakasamutsukā |* For ritual purposes, the *sādhaka* must always use his own urine or feces when these substances are prescribed. It seems that at some point the male practitioner may cause her to have orgasm, or may cause another woman to have orgasm, simply out of desire (*kautuka*). This could imply that the female ritual partner has a function that normally goes beyond the satisfaction of his desires. The text uses the neuter (*anyaṃ ... prayoktavyam*), but it is difficult to see who or what could be meant in the context. Cs. Kiss suggests that *anyaṃ* denotes another *nyāsa* (*hṛnnyāsa*) or is corrupt for *aṅgam* or *añjanam*. It is possible, but less likely, that this neuter stands for the feminine and that another woman is meant here, who should be used to satisfy the male practitioner's desire.

[11] Since the washing water is included, it should provide enough liquid for the cooking of the rice.

[12] 24.11c–14b: *kṣobhayitvā tato śaktiṃ yoniṃ prakṣālayet tataḥ || kṣālanaṃ bhāṇḍake gṛhya aśeṣam raktasaṃyutaṃ | pūrvvoktena vidhānena carukaṃ śrāvayet tataḥ || tena dravyeṇa mantrajño jñānoghe pūjitena tu | tenaiva tu vidhānena tribhāgaṃ kārayed budhaḥ || devyāgnau tu tato datvānnaivedyāni tu dāpayet |*

[13] 24.14c–15b: *devīnām agrataś caiva saha saktyā tathaiva ca || prāśayīta caruṃ divyaṃ pūjitaṃ vimalātmake |*

[14] 24.53c–54b: *parāmṛtaṃ yathā śakteḥ sarvvasandohalakṣaṇaṃ || guhyāmṛtavibhāgan tu sārāt sārataram mahat |*

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Concerning the types of female ritual partners, it is also mentioned that the *dūtī* is a mother, sister, daughter or wife. In another passage we find a much longer list of *śakti*s which involves various other female relatives, and perhaps even male ones.[15] It is, however, unclear how these terms should be interpreted: whether they express the relationship of the *dūtī* with the *sādhaka*, or the status of these women, or denote certain conventional types of *dūtī*s defined by the tradition itself. It is also pointed out that a pregnant woman should not be caused ritually to have orgasm,[16] but the wife seems to be an exception to this rule.[17]

The whole ritual is said to be prescribed for the advanced *tālaka* practitioner, who must always use a guest *śakti* or a stranger (*āgantu*),[18] and who should not make his *śakti* have intercourse with someone else.[19] Here, the prescription of a "guest *śakti*" seems to imply that the previous list does not involve relatives of the practitioner himself.

In spite of the previous prescription, the practitioner is to lend his *śakti* to someone who asks for her at the time of worship, and a guru must also lend his *śakti* to his disciple without feeling any greed or jealousy.[20]

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[15] This list seems to be rather incoherent and not fully understandable (24.68–71): *bhaginī putriṇī bhāryā ādyākāle vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ | mātāmahī pitāmahī tathā mātṛ svasām api || pitṛbhrātus* tathā bhāryā bhrātu bhāryās tathaiva ca | bhāgneyī tu snuṣā caiva pautṛdohitṛkān tathā || mātulasya tathā pitṛ mātṛ svasā tathā pitṝn | bhrātā tathā pitā vāpi putraṃ bhrātaras tathāpi vā || evamādi tathā cānyā śaktayaś caiva kārayet | mātuḥ svapatnī māte vā śaktyā vai kārayed budhaḥ ||* (**pitṛbhartus*] em. Kiss, *pitṛbhrātṛs* MS).

[16] 24.60cd: *garbhiṇī naiva kṣobhīta dravyārthaṃ sādhakottamaḥ ||*

[17] 24.61ab: *bhāryām āhṇikavarjyā tu garbhiṇīm api kṣobhayet |* The text is unclear.

[18] 24.87: *āgantūnām vidhi hy eṣā śaktīnāṃ tālakasya tu | tālakaḥ śaktihīnas tu devakarman na kārayet ||*

[19] 24.89ab: *nānyasaṅgamasañcārāṃ śaktiṃ kuryād vicakṣaṇaḥ |*

[20] 24.92cd–95: *prārthitena svayam vāpi yāgakāle na saṃśayaḥ || sva{ṃ}siṣyāpi* hi dātavyā sāmānyasyāpi dātavyā srotaśuddhiprapālanā | svayāge śiṣyayāge vā nirvvikalpena cetasā || ācāryeṇa mahāyase || svayāge śiṣyayāge vā nirvvikalpena cetasā ||*

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The *tālaka* type practitioner has two subtypes: one who has only one *śakti*, the other who has several *śaktis*.[21] Both types should have intercourse with the *śakti* on the prescribed days of the lunar month.[22] He who has one *śakti* should never be deluded by desire (for another woman) and abandon her; he should not covet other women. It is said that this is something difficult to do even for Bhairava himself and that such a practitioner can attain supernatural powers immediately.[23] He must not unite with *yoginī*s who may want to seduce him either.[24]

The full description of the *tālaka*'s ritual with the *dūtī* can be found in chapter 45, edited and translated by Csaba Kiss, who gives the following summary of the procedure (forthcoming: 46–47):

> The basic ritual [...] includes ritual bathing (*snāna*), mantric installation (*nyāsa*), [the *tālaka*'s] entering the ritual site (*devāgāra*) and the performance of worship (*pūjā*). The Sādhaka should perform pantheon worship (*yāga*) and fire rituals (*homa*), facing south, his hair dishevelled, naked, his body covered in ashes. His female partner should be standing, naked, her *pīṭha*, i.e. her genitals, are to be worshipped, and installation of the pantheon (*nyāsa*) should be performed on it.[25] She then sits down, he kisses and embraces her, he brings her to orgasm, collects the sexual fluids, and they eat these sexual fluids together. *Homa* is performed again with transgressive

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svatantrasamayo hy eṣa bhairaveṇa prabhāṣitaṃ | karttavyā siddhikāmeṇa īrṣāyā varjitena tu | tatkālan tu mahādevi pralobhaṃ naiva kārayet ||(* I assume a corruption from *svaśiṣye 'pi*, understood in the sense of *svaśiṣyasyāpi*.)

[21] 24.96c–97b: *tālakas tu dvidhā proktā ekaśaktiparigrahaṃ || bahuśaktiparigrāhī atha vā jāyate sadā |*

[22] 24.98–99: *dūtī muktvā na cānyatra na gacchet kāmamohitaḥ | ekaśaktiparigrāhī eṣo vai samayaḥ smṛtaḥ || tālakasya mahādevi dvividhasyāpi sobhane | tithau tu gamanenaiva gṛhyate śaktipālanā |*

[23] 24.110–11: *ekaśaktiparigrāhī āśuḥ sidhyati tālakaḥ | duścaraṃ bhairavasyāpi ekaśaktiparigrahaṃ || svaśaktin tu parityajya nānyāḥ kuryāḥ kadācanaḥ | manasāpi hi devesi ekaśaktiparigrahe ||*

[24] 24.112: *yoginyo yogasiddhās tu yadā tā icchayanti hi | tābhiḥ sārddhan na karttavyaṃ saṅgo vai siddhim icchatā ||*

[25] Or, perhaps "in it," according to Harunaga Isaacson's suggestion (personal communication to Csaba Kiss).

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substances such as cow flesh. He inserts his *liṅga* in her *pīṭha*, and finally *homa* of meat is performed.[26]

What transpires in these prescriptions is that the female ritual partner is used as a means (*karaṇa*) or a substrate (*ādhāra*) of worship. In a way, this use of her is reflected in her most common appellation: she is almost invariably called *śakti* or [female] power (the word *dūtī* is used very rarely). The female partner is worshipped as a potential source of this power and she does not do much by herself or for her own benefit. She remains a mere embodiment of the source of divine omnipotence.

Although the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* does not give any details of such rituals, it prescribes the obtainment of the (impure) *caru* from *yoginī*s. In this usage, *śakti*, *dūtī* and *yoginī* become synonymous to denote women used to produce the mingled sexual fluids, which seems to be the main purpose of the ritual that culminates in the offering of these substances.[27] Or rather, it can be assumed that human *yoginī*s could also be used as female ritual partners (*śakti/dūtī*), and were perhaps considered more powerful ritual partners than ordinary women.

2. Women endowed with supernatural powers (*yoginī*s)

Human *yoginī*s form a subtype of the general category of *yoginī*. *Yoginī*s or female spirits possessing superhuman powers are said

[26] This is a summary of a long section of the text. For the Sanskrit version, please consult Kiss's forthcoming edition. In fact, as Kiss forthcoming: 46ff. points out, there are three versions of this rite, of which the "mediocre" one (*madhyama*) is rather different from what is summarized above, for in that case, the practitioner must move his *liṅga* only slightly during ritual intercourse and should practice *avagraha* or semen retention, while reciting the prescribed mantras. Mantra recitation is envisaged in the other versions only after orgasm.

[27] For the fact that the main purpose of pre-*kaula śākta* ritual copulation was to produce the mingled sexual fluids for the offering, see Sanderson 1988: 680.

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to be divine or human,[28] but, as I argued elsewhere,[29] one could in fact distinguish between three subcategories of *yoginīs*:

1. divine *yoginīs* who are identified with mantra syllables, visualized (through *dhyāna*) and worshipped in a seated position, arranged in a circle (*maṇḍala* or *cakra*); they are usually offered mantra recitations (*japa*) and fire offerings (*homa*);

2. witch-like semi-divine *yoginīs* who are invoked and appear flying in the cremation ground, and are offered blood in a skull for a guest offering; they often have animal features;

3. human *yoginīs* who are said to belong to lineages or clans that bear the names of the seven or eight mother goddesses, they must be recognized and worshipped on certain lunar days, provide ingredients for the impure *caru* offering and transmit tantric teachings orally.

It is also possible to define *yoginī* as a general category, as done in Hatley (2013), with a polythetic approach. However, the above given three types are described in different ritual contexts and in different ways, therefore I suggest that a distinction between them would be useful to maintain. In the end, the definition of these three types results in the same list of features as the polythetic definition. But whichever typology is preferred, the textual sources deal with human *yoginīs* as a clearly separate category, which makes the present inquiry concerning their role legitimate.

Not only do our sources distinguish between divine and human *yoginīs*, but human *yoginīs* are usually described in a separate chapter or section of the respective texts, with a rather precise typology. The basic typology[30] lists seven types of human *yoginīs*, who must be recognized and identified through particular features. The seven

[28] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 22.5, using the categories *devatā* and *manuṣyā*.

[29] Törzsök 2009: 77ff.

[30] See *Brahmayāmala* chapter 74, *Tantrasadbhāva* chapter 16 and *Jayadrathayāmala* 3.38.35ff.

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types, called lineages or clans (*kula*), are based on the names and traits of the seven mother goddesses: Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā,[31] always in this order. After identifying a *yoginī* as belonging to one of these seven clans, she must be shown certain hand gestures that represent the divine attributes of her male counterpart (such as the disc, *cakra*, for Vaiṣṇavī), to which she will react in her particular way. On certain days of the lunar month, her attributes must be drawn on her/the practitioner's house (there is some ambiguity on this point) and she must be worshipped on these days. These human *yoginīs* are then said to bestow the ability to fly and other supernatural powers, just as other *yoginīs* or goddesses do, as well as to transmit the traditional teaching, *sampradāya*. Thus, they are certainly seen as more powerful than mere ritual partners (*śakti/dūtī*): although they too provide the needed substances for the impure *caru*, they also bestow supernatural effects (*siddhi*) themselves and safeguard the tradition.

All seven types are described in *Brahmayāmala* 74.41–80 as well as in a long chapter on various *yoginīs* in the somewhat later *Tantrasadbhāva* (16.247–285). The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (29.21–51) includes only the first five types, but the text probably has a lacuna here, for the typology follows the others in all other respects. The same *yoginī* types appear in later texts too, such as in the *Jayadrathayāmala* (3.38.35ff). The descriptions are partly stereotyped in the sense that they include common attributes of the male counterpart of each *mātṛ* lineage (those of Viṣṇu for Vaiṣṇavī etc.); but some particular human traits are also mentioned. The following example of Kaumārī taken from the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (29.34–40) illustrates well the nature of these passages.

> [The next type] has dimples on the cheek, she is fair-skinned[32] and has greenish brown eyes. Her straight hair is squeezed in a turban

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31 She is usually called differently, such as Mātṛnāyikā, Leader of Mothers.

32 Lit. "she is red-yellow/white."

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on the head[33] and a single line is seen on her forehead. Her neck is long, her limbs are long and she has red hair. She is always happy in red, yellow or dark blue clothes. She laughs and rejoices and then suddenly gets angry. [This kind of] woman is usually fickle-minded and gets excited in quarrels. Seeing this sort of woman, one should show her the spear gesture and then the bell gesture as the second, carefully.[34] To this, she replies with turning to the left.[35] The sixth day of the lunar fortnight and the days of the four changes of the moon are hers, who is born in the clan of Kaumārī. She comes from the clan of Kārttikeya, has the six [characteristic] faults,[36] bestows supernatural powers, and if she is satisfied (*tuṣṭā*), she gives you the traditional teaching (*sampradāya*) that leads to the fulfilment of all desires.[37]

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[33] The word *paṭṭa* may also denote a kind of headband rather than a turban. It is a piece of cloth to tie the hair with, and can be applied in many different ways.

[34] While the spear is commonly attributed to Skanda/Kumāra, the bell is rarely associated with him. Likewise, it is not usually an attribute of Kaumārī.

[35] It is clear from the other descriptions that the *mudrā* is here shown by the practitioner, to which the *yoginī* replies with a reply-*mudrā* (*pratimudrā*), although in Buddhist Tantras and other *śaiva* Tantra this may happen differently (see also *pratimudrā* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa vol. III.*).

[36] These six faults are perhaps the six passions (*ṣaṭkam,* cf. Apte's Dictionary entry), i.e. love (of sensual enjoyments, *kāma*), intoxication (*mada*), vanity/jealousy (*māna*), avarice (*lobha*), exultation (*harṣa*) and anger (*ruṣā*). Other groups of six fault are also known, such as drowsiness, exhaustion, fear, anger, laziness and procrastination (*nidrā tandrā bhayaṃ krodha ālasyaṃ dīrghasūtratā. Hitopadeśa* 1.34). However, the mention of six entities is somewhat suspicious. The text may be corrupt and the original compound may have referred either to Skanda's adoption by the six Kṛttikās or to his six heads.

[37] *gaṇḍābhyāṃ kūpakau yasyā dṛśy[e]te vaktrasaṃsthit[au] | raktagaurā yadā sā tu haripiṅgalalocanā || kuñcitāś ca samā[ḥ] keśāḥ paṭṭaṃ dhārayate śire | lalāṭe tu yadā tasya ekā rekhā tu dṛśyate || dīrghagrīvā tu sā jñeyā dīrghāṅgī raktakeśa sā | nityaṃ hi ramate rakte pītavastre 'tha nīlake || hasate ramate caiva akasmāc ca prakupyati | calacittā bhaven nārī kalaheṣu ca rajyate || īdṛśī[ṃ] pramadā[ṃ] dṛṣṭvā śaktimudrāṃ pradarśayet*

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For comparison, it is interesting to see that the *Brahmayāmala* (74.55c–59b) uses very similar terms and expressions for the same *yoginī*:

> She is lean, fair-skinned with greenish brown eyes. She has much energy/splendour, her neck is long, she is hairy and has the hair of a barbarian.[38] She enjoys childish games, she always laughs and sings constantly, she runs, jumps and suddenly gets angry. She must always have a stick in her hand and a spear is written on [her?] house. The eminent practitioner must identify her as being born in the clan of Kaumārī, and worship her on the surface of the earth according to prescription, with a desire to obtain powers from her. Whatever enjoyments the *sādhaka* desires, she shall bestow it upon him.[39]

This typology based on the seven Mothers, which seems to be the main one envisaged in the earliest *śākta* Tantras, becomes extended in later, more composite texts such as the *Tantrasadbhāva* (ch.16) and the *Jayadrathayāmala*, to include for instance *yoginī*s who are Born at Sacred Places (*pīṭhajā*), Born at Sacred Areas (*kṣetrajā*), Born of Matrixes (*yonijā*), Guardians of Entrances (*dvārapālā*), Perfected Yoginīs (*siddhayogeśvarī*) etc.

In fact, even the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* includes an alternative typology. First of all, it mentions the following list of *yoginī* types (in 28.20): Sky-Goers (*khecarī*), Ḍākinīs, Terrible Ones (*ghorā*) and

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| *ghaṇṭāmudrā ca dātavyā dvitīyā ca prayatnataḥ || parivartanaṃ tu vāmena pratimudrā[ṃ] dadāti hi | ṣaṣṭhī tu parvaṇī tasyāḥ kaumārīkulajāḥ striyāḥ || ṣaḍdoṣā siddhidā sā tu kārttikeyakulodgatā | sampradāyaṃ ca sā tuṣṭā dadate sārvakāmikam* || Square brackets enclose what may be considered editorial hypercorrection. For the full text with apparatus, see Törzsök forthcoming.

[38] The compound *barbaroruhā* is unusual. Its first word is *barbara* (barbarian), but in the second one, which must denote hair (*-śiroruhā*), the first syllable is missing and the rest has been merged with the end of the first word.

[39] *kṛśāṃgī raktagaurā ca haripiṅgalalocanā || suvarccā dīrghasaṃgrīvā romasā barbbaroruhā | bālakrīḍāratā nityaṃ hasate gāyate muhuḥ || dhāvate valgate caiva akasmāc ca prakupyate | daṇḍahastā bhaven nityaṃ śaktiṃ ca likhite gṛhe || kaumārīkulasaṃbhūtā lakṣayet sādhakottamaḥ | ārādhayed vidhānena bhūtale siddhikāṃkṣayā || yat kiñ cit prārthitaṃ bhogaṃ sādhakasya dadāti sā |*

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Beautiful Ones (*rūpikā*). Then another passage (26.21ff) describes an alternative way in which one can encounter *yoginī*s, who are called this time "*ḍākinī*s etc." (*ḍākinyādyāḥ* and *śākinī*s in the parallel passage of the *Tantrasadbhāva* ch. 16) and who appear in a circle of fire.[40] The passage, which may be corrupt and even abridged,[41] gives a very unclear account of these *yoginī*s, but their description is somewhat similar to the human ones:

> Those who look downwards, or [whose eyes] have two reflected images [having double vision?] or those whose two eyes are different [being cross-eyed?] are known to be of this [Rūpikā] kind. She who, after crying out *hā hā*, goes out of her house, village, away from the public somewhere else outside is [also] known to be a Rūpikā. She who sweats on her forehead and trembles when seed-syllables are placed [on her] as [prescribed] before is a Vaiṣṇavī called Raudrī. She who does not step over a small trident written up [on the ground, in front of her] and makes obeisance to Bhairava who is of the same nature [...][42]

This alternative description, no matter how confused or confusing, is important in several ways. Firstly, it shows that the *yoginī* typology was not always based on that of the seven Mothers, in other words, *yoginī*s had an existence and identity independent of the Mātṛs, even if there are many shared features between them. Secondly, this short

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[40] This suggests that they are not human, but their description echoes that of human *yoginī*s.

[41] If we assume that the surviving recension of the text, which is shorter than what Abhinavagupta had in front of him (see Törzsök 1999: iv–v), is secondary, but that may not be the case. However, it is certain that this description of *yoginī*s is rather enigmatic and something may have been omitted by mistake.

[42] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 26.26–29: *adhomukhās tu dṛśyante atha vā pratimādvayam | bhinne vā locane yasya vijñeyā sā tadātmikā || hāhā -d- eva kṛtaṃ pūrvaṃ gṛhād grāmān mahājanāt | aparatra bahir yāti vijñeyā sā tu rūpikā || lalāṭe sveda -m- āyāti vepathuś cāpi dṛśyate | pūrvavan nyastabījais tu sā syād raudrīti vaiṣṇavī || śūlaṃ vāmanam ālikhya na laṅghayati taṃ hi yā | namas tu †vartitāṃ rūpaṃ† bhairavāya tadātmane*

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description confirms the kind of behaviour *yoginīs* were supposed to have. For the former, longer passage mentions uncontrolled manifestations of feelings (laughing, singing, showing anger etc.), something that women were not supposed to do and that shows the uncivilized nature of *yoginīs*; while the latter passage describes them as leaving their community and home while shouting, which is not only considered uncivilized, but also situates them physically at the margins or even outside of society. Such a description of a woman leaving behind her social background and safety all alone is rare in Indian literature. It is perhaps not surprising that her behaviour was seen as requiring superhuman power.

Finally, the above cited short passage closes with a brief remark on heroes (*vīra*), male counterparts of these *yoginīs*.

> The same prescription also applies to a man, in all cases.
> Thus should one recognize *yoginīs* together with "heroes."[43]

Although no details are given, the verse clearly states that the same traits should be recognized in men, who are thus to be identified by *yoginīs* as partners. Apart from the surprising and unusual male-female symmetry of the prescription, it also implies that these men were supposed to be sought out by female practitioners. Therefore, it also raises the question of whether *yoginīs* were, at least in some contexts, also female practitioners, and under what circumstances.

3. The female practitioner (*sādhakī/yoginī/bhaginī/strī*)

The boundaries of divinised humans and gods are often blurred or non-existent in tantric cults as well as in many contexts of mainstream Hinduism. In the present context, this implies that divine and human *yoginīs* may be considered identical in some cases, and that the distinction between a *yoginī*, who is potentially divine, and a female practitioner (*sādhakī*), who is definitely human, is less clear than we would

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[43] *evam eva vidhir yogyaḥ puruṣasyāpi nityaśaḥ | evaṃ devi vijānīyā['] yoginyo vīrasaṃyutāḥ* || 26.30.

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expect. Indeed, the word *yoginī* often simply denotes a female practitioner. In this sense, it forms a pair with *vīra*, "hero", which denotes her male counterpart. Just as *yoginī* is an ambiguous term, so too *vīra* can also denote a type of male deity, otherwise often named Rudra, who accompanies goddess *yoginī*s, for instance on a *maṇḍala* or a *cakra*. Therefore, rather than insisting on the ambiguous nature of these terms, it may be more appropriate to say that they denote the tantric identity of practitioners, who become deified in their practice.

In spite of this, seemingly ambiguous, usage of the respective terms, it does make sense to try and find references to female practitioners, and in a number of cases it is very clear that texts indeed speak about them. Before looking at these references, it may not be useless to recall that according to the mainstream Śaivism of the Siddhānta, initiation is not to be given in its full form to women. Even in the *Svacchanda-tantra*, which is less mainstream in that it teaches the tantric cult of Bhairava using some impure offerings, women, along with children, the elderly, the sick etc., are to be given a so-called "seedless" initiation, which excludes the obligation to follow the post-initiatory rules (*samaya*).[44] The king, who is too busy to deal with these obligations, is also included in the list.

> Children, fools, the elderly, women, kings and the sick—for these, initiation is seedless [i.e.] it excludes [the obligation to follow] post-initiatory rules etc.[45]

[44] See also the entry *nirbījadīkṣā* by Dominic Goodall in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa vol. III*.

[45] *bālabāliśavṛddhastrībhogabhugvyādhitātmanām || eṣāṃ nirbījikā dīkṣā samayādivivarjitā* || (4.88) According to Kṣemarāja's commentary, the word "etc" refers to other ritual obligations, such as the annual reparatory *pavitraka* rite (*ādiśabdāt pavitrakādividhis*). See the entries *pavitraka* and *pavitrārohaṇa/pavitrāropaṇa* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa vol. III*, where it is also pointed out that the earliest Tantras do not describe this rite. Thus, it is possible that the *Svacchanda*'s author(s) had something different in mind than Kṣemarāja.

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All these categories of people are considered to be unable to follow the rules of the community, therefore they are given an easier version of initiation, which is also less powerful. It follows from this that these categories of people, including women, are not supposed to become full-time practitioners (*sādhaka*, or *putraka* in the later terminology if they seek final liberation). Accordingly, scriptures of the Siddhānta as well as those of the Bhairava cult (such as the *Svacchanda*) do not normally have any particular teaching aimed at women.[46]

It is nevertheless surprising to see that women are considered unable to follow the *samaya* rules. For the so-called *samaya* ritual, which is a preliminary to initiation proper (*dīkṣā*), can also be performed for women, which implies that they can observe the rules. It is possible that the "seedless" initiation was introduced only in the non-*śākta* tantric branches, while *śākta* scriptures maintained what was probably the original version of the *samaya* rite, meant to be performed also for women.

Whatever is the case, Kṣemarāja understands in his commentary that when initiates receive a new, *śaiva* name, according to the tradition of the *Svacchanda*, men receive one that ends with *-śiva* and women one that ends with *-śakti*. This may not have been the case according to the original rite at the time of the composition of the *Svacchanda*, for the text of the *Svacchanda* itself does not

[46] There are, however, some details of ritual in the context of which women are mentioned, to point out different ways of performing the same rite for women. At *Svacchanda* 3.164 for instance, Kṣemarāja mentions that according to some, the male initiand must hold the *pāśasūtra* in his right hand, the female in her left, raised to the top of the head. According to him, this is wrong, because the initiand has his or her hands kept busy holding the *darbha* grass functioning as (an extension of) his/her *nāḍīs*; therefore the *pāśasūtra* must be attached to the topknot (which, by the way, implies that he envisages male initiands, unless we assume that women also had some sort of *śikhā*): *tat sūtraṃ pumān dakṣiṇena strī vāmena kareṇa mūrdhni dhārayed ity asad dīkṣyahastayor darbhanāḍīdhāraṇe vyāpṛtatvam ataḥ śikhāyām eva pāśasūtram lambayet*. See also 2.205 and commentary thereon.

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specify this detail. However, a similar procedure seems to be prescribed in the *Brahmayāmala* (chapter 34). The text has a lacuna in the passage in which the basic naming procedure is prescribed (which probably concerns men), therefore the instruction remains unclear as to the ending of male initiation names. Then, however, this verse follows:

> But when women [see the flower they cast on the initiation *maṇḍala*] fall on these [various] places,[47] they should receive a name by that lineage [depending on which deity their flower falls on the *maṇḍala*], with a name "Śakti".[48]

What the passage appears to say is that female initiation names should end with *śakti*, just as Kṣemarāja has it in the *Svacchanda*'s context.[49] The fact that initiands are divided primarily into these two categories, male and female, rather than into four *varṇa*s as in the Siddhānta, is confirmed in the subsequent verse:

> Whoever is [thus] established [as belonging to] this or that lineage, be it a "hero" [= a male practitioner] or a "*yoginī*" [= female practitioner], their clan will protect [them, who are] the Sādhaka and the female [practitioner].[50]

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[47] Lit. "when the fall for women happens at these places", but the "fall" in this context is clearly that of the flower.

[48] *nārīnān tu yadā pātaḥ sthānesv eteṣu jāyate || tena gotreṇa tan nāmaṃ śaktisaṃjñaṃ tadā bhavet |* (*Brahmayāmala* 34.199cd–200ab)

[49] It is to be remarked that in Trika Tantras, which are more *śākta* in that their pantheon is more dominated by goddesses, all initiation names end with *-śakti* (see *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 6.43 and *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.125).

[50] *yā yasmiṃ saṃsthitā gotre vīro vā yoginī pi vā || svagotraṃ rakṣayantīha sādhakañ ca 'valā tathā |* (200ab–201cd) Since the accusative and the nominative are often confused in the text, it is not clear whether the male and female initiates will protect their clan or the clan will protect them. I understand *cavalā* to stand for *cābalā[ṃ]* (the text may be emended). The reading of the end of the line was problematic (the problem is also indicated in Shaman Hatley's transcription) because the ink is slightly smeared there, but thanks to new photos made by Jung Lan Bang, it is now certain.

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A later chapter on the *samaya* pledges confirms that women can as properly take and keep the *samayas* as men. For after what is an initial mention of the *samayas*, the text says:

> if a man or a woman obtains these, he/she shall be able to produce supernatural effects and be recognized [by fellow practitioners or clan members] at home or in the field even from a distance.[51]

That the initiation of both men and women, on an equal basis, continued to be a *śākta* tradition can be seen, for instance, in a remark made by Abhinavagupta in his *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa*.[52] Commenting on a verse of the *Parātriṃśikā*, Abhinavagupta states that one can be initiated directly by the deity without the performance of a ritual. Such a directly initiated person can be a hero or *yoginī* (*vīro vā yoginī vā*), i.e. a male or female practitioner.

It is not only the *samaya* pledges that women were able to take in the *śākta* systems. In several passages that describe the obtainment of supernatural powers, women are explicitly mentioned as practitioners, along with men. The *Brahmayāmala*, before describing the mantra of a three-legged (*tripāda*) Bhairava, points out that if a man or a woman obtains his characteristic features (*lakṣaṇa*), i.e. if they are assimilated to this mantra–deity, they shall obtain eternal success [and possess all possible powers].[53]

Similarly, the propitiatory worship (*sādhana*) of the goddess called Aparā is prescribed both for men and women in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (chapter 19). After the ritual burning of one's mundane

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[51] *yām avāpya nara strīr vvā siddhiceṣṭā[nu/na]marcchati | vijñāyate sa dūre pi gṛhakṣetre vyavasthitaḥ.* The text is somewhat problematic. *Yām* is understood to stand for *yān* (*samayān*), but the verb is perhaps corrupt or *aiśa* for *anvarjati* or something similar, possibly *metri causa*.

[52] See the last paragraph of p. 275.

[53] 28.57c–58b: *ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi bhairavasya tu lakṣaṇaṃ || yāmya vāpya nara strī vā siddhi prāp[s]anti sāsvatīṃ |* I understand the second line to stand for *yāny [=lakṣaṇāni] avāpya naraḥ strī vā siddhiṃ prāpsyanti śāśvatīm.*

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body and the creation of a bhairavic one, the practitioner must place the Aparā mantra in his or her heart and visualise Aparā's retinue of goddesses in a circle (*cakra*), with Bhairava and Aparā in its middle. Worship is performed with the usual offerings, but with the addition of meat (*māṃsa*), and followed by mantra recitation and fire offerings, which include human flesh. Finally, the goddess appears in the middle of the sacrificial fire. She enters the practitioner's circle of deities and the practitioner becomes similar to her (*tattulyaḥ*). At the end of this description, some options are given: one can perform this rite alone (which may imply that the ideal place is the cremation ground) or at home, one can be a hero, i.e. a male practitioner, or a woman.[54]

Another, later, Trika scripture, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, mentions female and male practitioners and uses the same wording in the context of a similar rite.

> He who worships this circle [of deities], be it a hero [i.e. a man] or a woman, will become a *yoginī* after a year and enters an eternal body; [even] someone cowardly will become a hero, dominated by heroic sentiments.[55]

Here the formulation suggests that powerless women (*abalā* also means the forceless, the weak) will become powerful *yoginī*s, while powerless men ("the cowardly" *bhīru*) will become powerful heroes (*vīra*). Such a formulation also occurs in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, stressing the fact that women, who are by nature said to be devoid of force or power (*abalā*) become powerful.[56] It is to be found after an excursus

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[54] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 19.17cd–18ab: *ekākino yathoktena vidhinānena sādhanam || gṛhe vātha prakurvāṇair vīro vāpy athavābalā*

[55] *ya idaṃ pūjayet cakraṃ vīro vā yadi vābalā** || *vatsarād yoginī bhūtvā praviśec chāśvatāṃ tanum | bhīrur vīratvam āyāti vīrabhāvair adhiṣṭhitaḥ* || (*Tantrasadbhāva* 3.224cd–25) * Here I follow "Ms g" (*vābalā*) rather than the reading of the other Mss (*vābalaḥ*) followed in Dyczkowski's online edition. The edition in fact eliminates the female practitioner by its choice of variant.

[56] In an *aiśa* wording: *sādhako vīratāṃ yāti abalāṃ ca balāṃ bhavet* (27.15cd).

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on the imperative of keeping the teaching secret, which applies to both men and women.

While the most common way of mentioning male and female practitioners is to call them *vīra* and *yoginī* or *vīra* and *abalā*, it also happens that the terms *sādhaka* and *sādhakī* are used, as in chapter 10 of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.[57] This chapter prescribes the *pūrvasevā* or preliminary observances, which must precede the propitiation of mantra deities for *siddhi*. The observances are somewhat reminiscent of the *pāśupata* observance, one of them is in fact called the *pāśupata* observance and refers to and cites the *Pāśupatasūtras*. All of them require that one must smear one's body with ashes (of various colours in the different observances) and wander about with various attributes, recite the appropriate mantra etc. Given that *pāśupatas* were supposed to be brahmin males, one would picture a male practitioner to accomplish such *pāśupata*-like observances of a wandering ascetic;[58] but the text remarks at the very beginning:

> concentrating the mind on the mantra [to be propitiated], the male or female practitioner (*sādhakaḥ sādhakī vātha*) should perform pantheon worship as prescribed and accomplish the [following preliminary] observance.[59]

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[57] The word may also occur in the *Brahmayāmala*, but the text is not secure at that point and the interpretation of the passage is not straightforward. The word in question (*sādhakīyau*?) may be corrupt and/or refer to the female partner (*śakti*) as belonging to the *sādhaka*: *guhyāmṛtaṃ samākhyātaṃ guhyayāgaṃ prakalpayet | vandanaḥ prāsanañ caiva karttavyaṃ sādhakena tu || śaktyāpi sādhakī[yau] tu prāsitavyas tathaiva hi* || (24.37–38b).

[58] It must be noted, however, that in spite of the *pāśupata* prescription which allows only "twice-born" men to follow the *pāśupata* observance, a 12th–13th century inscription from Mount Abu (*Indian Antiquary* 11: 220–223) mentions a female *pāśupata* who acted as a guru or superior of a *śaiva* monastery. See also Sanderson 2013: 213. Her name (Yogeśvarī) is, nevertheless, different from those of the male *pāśupatas* listed in the same text, for it does not end with the common *pāśupata* ending *-rāśi*.

[59] *sādhakaḥ sādhakī vātha mantratadgatacetasaḥ | yāgaṃ kṛtvā vidhānena vratacaryāṃ samācaret* (10.4).

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All these mentions of female practitioners in very diverse ritual contexts suggest that they could be involved in any kind of tantric practice, which was probably the case, at least in theory. However, one particular ritual context seems to attract the mention of women more often: the recognition of male and female members of the same lineage. This context leads us back to the question of *yoginī*s, for female practitioners appear indeed in these passages as *yoginī*s endowed with supernatural powers. Thus, heroes and *yoginī*s, the latter called simply women (*abalā*), must recognize each other through the use of sign language (*chommakā*)[60] and identify each other as belonging to one of the *mātṛ* clans. Since they belong to the same clan or lineage, the women are also called "sisters" (*bhaginī*) in these passages.[61]

In the above examined cases, women appear alongside with men as equally able agents in ritual. It also occurs, however, that women, although they are clearly allowed to perform rites of "magic" (*siddhikarman*), are explicitly mentioned as being weaker, for whom a particular, easier kind of ritual is proposed: "even a woman, or a man, [whether he is] an initiate into the *samaya* rules or someone who has

[60] *Tantrasadbhāva* 18.31: *teṣāṃ tu kathayiṣyāmi cchommakāḥ kulasaṃsthitā | kule sāmānyatāṃ yāti vīro vāth' abalāpi vā.* "I shall now teach you their sign language established in their clans [through which] a hero or a woman can be [recognized as belonging to] the same clan." The goddess asks for the same teaching at the beginning of a chapter of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (27.4: *tvatprasādān mahādeva śrotum icchāmi tattvataḥ | kule sāmānyatāṃ yāti yathā vīro 'balāpi vā*), but the chapter does not include a reply.

[61] In the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the following passage (16.245–6) precedes immediately the typology of human *yoginī*s and their clans: *tat sarvaṃ prāpnuvanty etā vidhinānena suvrate | vīro vā bhaginī vāpi tatra dharmānuvartinī || phalaṃ prāpnoty asandehād yat tad iha vimarṣitam | hīnamadhyottamaṃ caiva svakīyāṃśavaśocitam ||* (The Muktabodha e-text writes *visarpitam* for *vimarṣitam*, but the MSS read *vimarṣitam*). "They shall obtain everything through this ritual, o virtuous one. Whether a hero or a sister following her *dharma*, he/she shall undoubtedly obtain the result that has been revealed here, of inferior, mediocre or superior quality, and according to the power of his/her own lineage."

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received full initiation but is unable to perform a *sādhana*, can accomplish the following ritual, o goddess".[62] The list of practitioners, which exceptionally starts with women (note that all the previous occurrences have the "hero" first), shows that women are considered, at least here, less able to perform *sādhana* and are put in the same category as various types of weaker male initiates who are unable to accomplish certain rites.[63]

No matter how often women are called the "weak" ones, it also happens that they are the most ideal practitioners. This is the case when the use of a mantra syllable called the Heart of Yoginīs (*KHPHREṂ*) is prescribed.[64] It is praised as a particularly powerful mantra syllable, more efficient than all observances and satisfying all the female powers (*śaktayaḥ*). Its efficiency, however, applies mainly when used by women:

> A man can [also] have the right to perform this ritual act concerning women. For it [mainly] bestows success onto women, and sometimes also onto men. It has been transmitted by women from mouth to mouth and not written down in a book.[65]

The passage continues to enumerate *yoginīs* in different cosmic periods (*yuga*) who transmitted the teaching and finishes by remarking that in the end the doctrine was committed to writing. This may be pure fiction as it stands; but it is notable that the tradition sees part of itself as an oral tradition originating with women and as something that is meant to be used by women in particular.

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[62] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 25.2: *abalāpy athavā vīraḥ samayajño 'tha dīkṣitaḥ | aśaktaḥ sādhane devi tadāyaṃ vidhim ācaret* ||

[63] In spite of this introductory verse, what follows does not seem to be so easy to carry out, for an elaborate cremation ground ritual is prescribed involving impure substances that are difficult to obtain.

[64] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 28.32–42.

[65] *puruṣeṇādhikāro 'sti asmin strīvidhikarmaṇi | striyāyā[ḥ] siddhido hy eṣaḥ kadācit puruṣasya ca || vaktrād vaktragataṃ strīṇāṃ na ca lekhyati pustake |* (28.41–42ab).

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Conclusion: The Power of the Powerless

It is a quasi-universal cultural phenomenon that women are associated with impurity and danger.[66] Their dangerous impurity can make them menacing and powerful, in the way in which tantric goddesses and *yoginī*s are depicted. As these powerful and impure goddesses and *yoginī*s make their way into the pantheon of *śākta* scriptures, actual women, whether they embody these divine females or not, also gain more presence in these works.

The first major step is that women, who are excluded from Vedic initiation,[67] can be initiated into the tantric systems, along with *śūdra*s, who are also excluded from Vedism. Even if women can only receive the so-called "seedless" version of initiation in the mainstream Śaivism of the Siddhānta, this is a major innovation. But as we have seen, women appear as more important participants in the ritual system of early *śākta* scriptures.

Secondly, in *śākta* scriptures they are not only allowed to participate in rituals, but their participation as ritual partners (*śakti*) is often required, even if their role can be rather instrumental.[68]

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[66] This appears to be related to the fear of menstrual blood, see e.g. Guterman-Mehta-Gibbs 2007.

[67] As McGee 2002: 41–42 points out, women's exclusion from Vedic initiation (*upanayana*) probably led to their gradual exclusion from Vedic learning and from the individual performance of *śrauta* rituals. She also shows that at the time of Jaimini, women's access to Vedic learning was not yet an issue itself (while *śūdra*s were definitely denied access to the Vedas). Nevertheless, women's role in Vedic ritual was reduced, for they acted either as proxies (*pratinidhi*), partners (*dharmapatnī*) or designated sons (*putrikā-putra*). On women's role in Vedic ritual, see also Jamison 1996.

[68] The presence of a woman, the *dharmapatnī*, is of course necessary in Vedic ritual too. This parallel is pointed out by Jayaratha, who seems to cite a scriptural passage commenting on the ritual involving the *dūtī*: *brahmaṇasya yathā patnī tayā saha yajen makhe | evaṃ dūtiḥ kulācārye jñeyā nityodite kule*. "Just a brahmin must perform sacrifice in the company of his wife,

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Thirdly, in addition to goddesses and female spirits, actual women (in the form of *yoginīs*) are also considered to possess exceptional powers. They are therefore to be worshipped as repositories of these powers and are also said to transmit tantric doctrine.

Finally, women are also entitled to perform many *śākta* rites in the same way as men, on equal grounds. The examples demonstrate that women had the full right to perform ascetic observances (*vrata*),[69] propitiatory worship to use the power of a deity (*sādhana*), including pantheon worship (*cakrayāga*) combined with visualisation (*dhyāna*), mantra recitation (*japa*) and fire offerings (*homa*).[70] Although it happens that women are seen as less able to perform some rites than men, it also occurs that a rite or mantra (the *yoginīhṛdaya*) is said to be more efficient for them.

It remains a question whether women also had access to final liberation through these practices.[71] I have found no explicit statement concerning this question,[72] but it must be kept in mind that the texts

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so too a female partner (*dūtī*) must be seen [as necessary] in the *kula* method, in/for the *kula*/body, which always exists."

[69] It must be noted that these *vrata*s are not of the same kind as those votive or *strīdharmic* obervances that are still popular with Hindu women and which are examined in McGee 2002. The tantric *vrata*s are often necessary preliminaries to *sādhana*, as mentioned above, and they usually require the person who observes them to live as a solitary ascetic. A similar meaning of *vrata*, implying ascetic practices, was apparently used in medieval Tamil inscriptions, even when women were involved. See Orr 2007.

[70] An outside source from the eighth century CE, Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, confirms that female practitioners had the same rights or *adhikāra* in these matters. For the *yoginīs* Kapālakuṇḍalā and Saudāminī are said to perform similar sets of rituals and also possess the ability to fly, see act 9 verse 52 and act 5.29 ff. See also Hatley 2007: 88ff.

[71] For the fact that women's *vrata* may not lead to final liberation, *mokṣa*, in other periods and according to different sources, see McGee 1992.

[72] Liberation (*mokṣa*) may be described in an indirect way; see e.g. in the above citation of the *Tantrasadbhāva* (3.224cd–5), which says

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examined here concentrate on obtaining success (*siddhi*) in general, which included final liberation among the obtainment of various supernatural effects. Therefore their silence does not imply that women were excluded from final liberation.

Tantric scriptures (whose provenance and date are already difficult to establish with certainty) cannot be taken to provide us with hard data about the society of their place and time; but the roles and rights of women in religious matters in early *śākta* Tantras perhaps points to the fact that some important issues concerning women were involved. And, although these texts often employ the word *abalā* "forceless/powerless" for "woman," one wonders whether this (just as the name Śiva) is not used as a euphemism to denote those who are, at least according to the *śākta* systems, more powerful than they seem.

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that both men and women enter an "eternal body." This could mean that they become divine, i.e. liberated.

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Prasenā, Prasīnā & Prasannā: The Evidence of the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasadbhāva*

SUMMARY: The literature of the Śaiva *Mantramārga* evidences differing strategies of incorporating *prasenā* divination into its theoretical frameworks. The early *Niśvāsaguhya* confines *prasenā*s a prognosticatory role in support of a more common method of dream divination used to determine reasons for failed initiation. Questions of intertextuality and doctrinal dependence are raised when the Trika's *Tantrasadbhāva* envisages *prasenā*s as fulfilling exactly the same function.

KEYWORDS: *Prasenā*, divination, possession, oracle, onychomancy, catoptromancy, mirrors, intertextuality, Trika, Śaivasiddhānta.

Introduction

The early literature of the Śaiva *Mantramārga*[1] contains several detailed treatments of a type of scrying involving a divinatory apparition variously called *prasenā*, *prasīnā*,[2] *prasannā*,[3] *pratisenā* or

[1] This term is here used in preference to more ambiguous expressions such as "Śaiva Tantrism", "Tantric Śaivism", etc. See Goodall & Isaacson 2011.

[2] This is the name found in the *Niśvāsaguhya*. It is unlikely that this is a mere scribal corruption of *prasenā*, but it seems to be rather an early attempt to Sanskritise *pasiṇa/pasiṇā*. It is the earliest form to be found in any Śaiva scripture.

[3] This form occurs in the *Tantrasadbhāva*. It too does not appear to be a mere scribal corruption of *prasenā*, but rather a conscious variant presumably intended to signal the benign (*pra+sad*) nature of the *svasthāveśa* involved.

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senikā.[4] In early scriptural sources, the most commonly encountered designation for these apparitions is *prasenā*.[5] This has been interpreted as a Sanskritization of **pasiṇā*, an unattested feminine of the MIA *pasiṇa*,[6] itself a *svarabhakti* form related to Sanskrit *praśna* (lit. "question") and the attested MIA forms *paṇha*/*paṇhā*. The most prominent morphological feature of these derivations is the ubiquitous feminine ending.[7] It is noteworthy that the term *prasenā* refers literally to the divinatory "question-apparition", that answers the question, and that a perhaps more expected designation "answer-apparition" such as *uttarā* (since the *prasenā* actually answers the questions) never developed.

While of marginal importance to the theoretical frameworks elaborated in the early *Mantramārga*, contemporaneous literary works suggest that *prasenā* divination enjoyed a widespread popularity and was favourably perceived as esoterically prestigious. This in itself may have been sufficient reason for the systematizers of the early Śaiva *Mantramārga* (and also the systematizers of Esoteric Buddhism) to acommodate a pre-existing practice taken over from divinatory traditions.

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[4] *Jayadrathayāmala* 2, *Vidyāvidyeśvarīcakre Tṛtīyapratīhārīsādhanavidhiḥ*, f. 117: *senikāsiddhir atulā*...

[5] A divinatory system involving *prasenā*s was also transmitted to the Far East in Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. Strickmann (1996: 221–229) identifies *prasenā* as the *Po-sseu-na* or *Sseu-na* ('the god Po') of the eighth century Chinese translation of the Esoteric Buddhist scripture *Subāhuparipṛcchā*. See also *Hōbōgirin* 1:7ab, which derives the Japanese *hashina* from Skt. *praśna*, although Strickmann believes that a derivation from *prasena*/*prasenā* is possible.

[6] See Turner CDIAL 8818.

[7] The etymological connection with *praśna* is discussed in Strickmann (Strickmann 1996: 221–229). Faure (Strickmann and Faure 2002: 327, n. 43) reports that F. Staal suggested a connection with Skanda, though *prasena* (masc.) is not attested as a sobriquet of his. Jaini (apparently without knowing that the variant *prasannā* is found) suggested a derivation from *prasanna* and a link to a Gandharva of that name. See also Gray 2007: 345–346.

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Prasenā divination may have been derogated for another reason too, for there is reason to believe[8] that it was a preexisting practice that deployed mantras (or at least magical spells) to generate a benign possession, thereby intruding into a domain that the early *Mantramārga* claimed privileged or even exclusive access to. Whether the early *Mantramārga* therefore may have been in some (unacknowledged) way indebted to *prasenā* divination needs to be investigated in more detail, particulary by looking at the earliest surviving accomodations, and by comparing these with more elaborate *prasenā* rituals such as those taught in the *Jayadrathayāmala*.

The following study therefore investigates how the Śaiva appropriation of *prasenās* was achieved in the case of the *Niśvāsaguhya*, a supplement to the most archaic stratum of the Niśvāsa corpus, the earliest surviving scripture of the *Mantramārga*,[9] and in the *Tantrasadbhāva*, an early scripture of the Trika.

Before analysing the Śaivas' strategies we need to consider what they might have inherited, for there is evidence that *prasenā* divination predates the development of the *Mantramārgā* by quite some time.[10] As Orofino (Orofino 1994) notes, mirror divination was and is so widespread[11] that theories about its origin and spread should not be advanced without a detailed comparative study. Already the Pāli canon's *Dīghanikāya* includes three types of *pañha* (*praśna*, however, is here masc., and not fem.) divination in a list of wrong livelihoods (*micchājīvena jīvika*):[12] divination with

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[8] That is, even Western cognates of thumb-gazing catoptromancy often require the use of magical spells.

[9] Recently dated by Goodall & Isaacson to approximately 450–550 AD. While the *Niśvāsaguhya* does not form a part of the very earliest stratum of the *Niśvāsa* corpus, it must nevertheless be ranked among the early scriptures of *Mantramārga* Śaivism.

[10] See Orofino (Orofino 1994: 614ff.) for a discussion of early attestations in Esoteric Buddhist literature.

[11] See Orofino (Orofino 1994: 618ff.) for some Greco-Roman sources.

[12] *Dīrghāgama* I.11: ... *micchājīvena jīvika kappenti seyyathīda ... ādāsapañha kumāripañha devapañha... iti. DA* I.97: *ādāsapañhanti ādāse*

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mirrors (*ādāsapañha*),[13] divination using a virgin (*kumāripañha*),[14] and oracular possession (*devapañha*).[15] Oracular possession and divination[16] were also the main topics taught in an early canonical work of the early Jainas, namely the original[17] *Paṇhāvāyaraṇa*, the tenth *Aṅga* of the Jaina canon, recently rediscovered by Acharya (Acharya 2007) in an early Nepalese manuscript.

To see how the phenomenon of *prasenās* was understood outside of the Śaiva *Mantramārga* or the Buddhist *Mantranaya* we must widen our scope to consider also other contemporaneous literature that mentions oracular prognostications, especially those describing apparitions, those deploying mirrors (and other forms of catoptromancy), or the characteristic "thumb gazing" technique that is the hallmark of *prasenā* practice in the early scriptural accounts.[18] That this too might be inherited is suggested by the widespread practice of onychomancy

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devataṃ otāretvā pañhapucchanaṃ. kumārikapañhanti kumārikāya sarīre devataṃ otāretvā pañhapucchanaṃ. devapañhanti dāsiyā sarīre devataṃ otāretvā pañhapucchanaṃ.

[13] PTS p. 98: "Mirror-questioning".

[14] PTS p. 221: "Obtaining oracular answers from a girl supposed to be possessed by a spirit".

[15] PTS p. 330: "Questioning a god, using an oracle".

[16] For further Jaina sources see the entries in *Païasaddamahaṇṇavo* p. 655 *paṇha* m., *paṇhā* f. = *praśna*, *pṛcchā*. Also *Païasaddamahaṇṇavo* p. 715 *pasiṇa* m.n. = 2. summoning a deity into a mirror etc. (*mantravidyāviśeṣa*), and also *pasiṇavijjā*.

[17] Acharya (Acharya 2007: 4): "Albrecht Weber (1883: 327; 1885: 17) noticed long ago that the original text of the *Praśnavyākaraṇa*, which the compilers of the above mentioned *sūtras* had before them, was lost at some point in history and another entirely different text was substituted in the place of the original *aṅgasūtra*."

[18] Added to this textual dimension is the fact that many apparently related systems of oracular prognostication (even if the designation *prasenā* is not used) are still practised in South Asia, at least in Tibet, Kerala, and Nepal, but probably much more widely, as future fieldwork will hopefully determine.

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(mostly derived from Greco-Roman models?), often involving the uttering of magical spells, current in medieval and Renaissance Europe.[19]

Rather than ritual instructions or doctrinal issues, Sanskrit literary accounts reveal commonly held beliefs about *prasenās*. For example, the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*[20] of the ninth century Kashmirian court poet Śivasvāmin uses the apparition of a *prasenā* in a mirror as a metaphor for the appearance of the sun in the sky:

> May this *prasenā*, embodied as the sun,
> appearing in yonder polished mirror of the sky,
> witnessed by the foremost among the mantra-chanters,
> their muttered spells empowered with visualizations of Sandhyā,
> recovering, all at once, the elements of the world that were completely lost,
> grant the heart satisfaction.[21]

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[19] *Policraticus* II.28 of John of Salisbury (*ca.* 1159): "During my boyhood I was placed under the direction of a priest, to teach me psalms. As he practised the art of crystal gazing, it chanced that he after preliminary magical rites made use of me and a boy somewhat older, as we sat at his feet, for his sacrilegious art, in order that what he was seeking by means of finger nails moistened with some sort of sacred oil of crism, or the smooth polished surface of a basin, might be made manifest to him by information imparted by us, and so after pronouncing names which by the horror they inspired seemed to me, child though I was, to belong to demons, and after administering oaths of which, at God's instance, I know nothing, my companion asserted that he saw certain misty figures, but dimly, while I was so blind to all this that nothing appeared to me except the nails or basin and the other objects I had seen there before." (transl. J. B. Pike, *Frivolities of courtiers*, (1938: 147)).

[20] Yokochi 2012 has argued against Hahn's reception of the work as a Buddhist poem, noting that Śivasvāmin rather intended the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* as a Śaiva work.

[21] *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* 15.35: *saṃdhyādhyānapraguṇitajapair mantravādipradhānair dṛṣṭā mṛṣṭe gaganamukure 'mutra kṛtvāvatāram | naṣṭān naṣṭān jhagiti jagato lambhayantī padārthān eṣā toṣaṃ diśati manasaḥ pūṣamūrtiprasenā* ||. Since everybody can perceive the rising sun, even without any special qualification, the compound *mantravādipradhānair* should

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The notion that the sun "recovers" the elements of the world that have been lost in darkness parallels the main practical application of *prasenās*: Finding and recovering items that have been lost or stolen. Śivasvāmin's verse implies that *prasenās* must have been considered dazzling and even beautiful visionary apparitions to those who witnessed them. A more critical stance can also be found in satirical literature. Approximately two hundred years later, another Kashmirian poet and satirist, Kṣemendra,[22] who states to have studied literature (*sāhitya*) with the tantric authority Abhinavagupta (fl. ca. 975–1025 AD), mocks *prasenā* magic as worthless, labelling it derogatorily as *Indrajāla*, as illusion or low-level sorcery:

> The virgin sees a bewildering tumult of people,
> in a sword, in a thumb, in water,
> but the thief is not caught,
> this is the delusion of sorcery.[23]

refer to both mantra-sorcerers and also, by *arthaśleṣa*, to sincere mantra-chanters who are up at dawn to perform Sandhyā worship.

[22] Only four works of Kṣemendra are dated, his literary activity falls between 1049/50–1066 AD. The frequently encountered assertion that the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* is also dated appears to go back to a misunderstanding of *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* 19.37 first seen in Sūryakānta (1954: 6), then in Mahajan (1956:i), who dated it to 1037 CE. Sternbach (1979: 1) placed it in 1039 CE, then (without explaining the discrepancy) in 1037 CE (1979: 10), the former date being presumably a typographical error. This would put the verifiable beginning of Kṣemendra's literary career back by 10 years, but it is based on no more than a misunderstanding of 19.37: *kadā cid eva vipreṇa sa dvādaśyām upoṣitaḥ | prārthito Rāmayaśasā sarasaḥ svacchacetasā*, "At one time, he who, full of love, was fasting on the twelfth [lunar day!] was requested by the clear-minded Brāhmaṇa Rāmayaśas." Here the feminine *dvādaśyām* cannot mean "in the twelfth [Laukika] year," i.e. 4112 = 1037 AD, there is no word for "year" in the verse and all of Kṣemendra's other dates explicitly use masculine the terms *saṃvatsara* and *abda*. For a bibliography of his works see Kirde, *Bibliographie zur Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā des Kṣemendra**.

[23] *Kalāvilāsa* 9.17: *khaḍge 'ṅguṣṭhe salile* (*khaḍge*] LQP, *baddhe* KEd) *paśyati vividhaṃ janabhramaṃ kanyā | na prāpyate tu cauro* (*tu*] LQP, ca

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This verse affirms the most common and perhaps also the original purpose of *prasenā* oracles—the catching of a thief— and some of the main substrates in which a *prasenā* may appear. Kṣemendra does not deny that the medium, a virgin in this case, actually sees something. The problem is that it yields no useful results. It seems likely that this rather negative valuation of *prasenā* sorcery is one that his teacher Abhinavagupta might have shared, for there is no explicit mention of *prasenās* in his *Tantrāloka*. This may seem surprising, for there is, in the third chapter, where such a reference would have been apt, a detailed discussion of the doctrine of reflection (*pratibimbavāda*). Even his commentator Jayaratha feels the need to include the *prasenā* as a simile in this context, citing a verse that he attributes to Abhinavagupta's grand-teacher Utpaladeva (fl. ca. 975–1025 AD), the systematizer of the Īśvarapratyabhijñā system:

> O Lord! Through your power
> You have revealed the universe in [your] pure [mirror-like] self
> without an "original" [source being present],
> just like a *prasenā* [who is not visible as a source, nevertheless appears]
> in a mirror.[24]

The metaphor (if we read *eva*) or simile (if we emend to *iva*) expressed in this verse has close parallels to a trope used to explain the attainment of the first stage of *Kālacakra* system's form of *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* analyzed by Orofino (Orofino 1994). In none of the above similes and metaphors is a *prasenā* valued in itself as a significant ritual actor fulfilling a soteriological function. When more detailed descriptions of oracular apparitions appear in literary works, they fulfill a quite different function in the imagination of the poets and their audiences: the legitimisation of royal succession. A common trope is the visionary apparition of a *prasenā*-like goddess dressed in white who is identified as a visionary manifestation of Rājyalakṣmī, Rājyaśrī (the patron goddess of

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KEd • *cauro*] LQ, *coro* KEd P) *moho 'sāv indrajālasya* ||

[24] *Tantrālokaviveka* 3.64: *nātha tvayā vinā bimbaṃ svacche svātmani darśitam | prasenā darpaṇenaiva prabhāvādbhāvamaṇḍalam* ||

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the kingdom), or a local protective deity. She acknowledges the king, rewards his meritorious deeds, predicts the future greatness of his dynasty, and thereby endorses his right to rule. Sometimes this appears to imply that the succession was irregular, in doubt, or even contested. For example, in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, Rājyalakṣmī emerges from a divine sword called Aṭṭahāsa[25] that Puṣyabhūti/Puṣpabhūti[26] had won by assisting his Śaiva teacher Bhairavācārya in a *Vetāla* summoning.[27]

[25] The *aṭṭahāsa* is Śiva's wild laughter, the brightness and shape of his teeth serve here as a likeness for the sword. A doctrinal etymology (*nirvacana*) deriving as "eightfold laughter" (*aṣṭa* > *aṭṭa*) is given at *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 46-47ab: *mahābhairavadevasya ramane mātṛmaṇḍale / rabhasād utthitaṃ nādaṃ bhīṣaṇam atibhairavaṃ // aṣṭadhā hasito yasmād aṭṭahāsaṃ prakīrtitaṃ*, "The fearsome, terrible sound, suddenly bursting from Mahābhairava in the carousing circle of the Mothers is called *aṭṭahāsa*, because it is an eightfold laughter." Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.8 explains the *aṭṭahāsa* laughter that is performed by Pāśupata ascetics as "a roaring (or snorting) performed with the throat and puckered lips": *tad atra hasitaṃ nāma yad etat kaṇṭhoṣṭhapuṭavisphūrjanaṃ yenāṭṭahāsaḥ kriyate tad dhasitam.* The same is paraphrased at *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha Nakulīśapāśupatadarśanam* p. 169: *atra hasitaṃ nāma kaṇṭhoṣṭhapuṭavis phūrjanapuraḥsaramahahetyaṭṭahāsaḥ.* It is possible that *Tīmirodghāṭana* 1.15cd is paraphrasing *aṭṭahāsa* as the "cackling laugh" of Bhairava: *hasan{taṃ} kilakilāyantaṃ mahābhīmo ‹'›ṭṭahāsitam.* The *Aṃśumadāgama* 64.46cd describes it as a "loud guttural sound": *aṭṭahāsollasadvaktraṃ ghargharonmukharasvanam.* Outside of these Pāsupata or Śaiva works, the *Anargharāghavapañcikā* commentary 6.37 glosses it as an "excessive laugh indicating wrath", *aṭṭahāsaḥ = atihāsaḥ krodhānubhāvaḥ.* The *Bhāvapradyotinī ad Mahāvīracarita* 1.45 as a "dry (rasping) laugh", *āṭṭahāsāḥ śuṣkahāsāḥ "aṭṭas tv aṭṭālake pūre bhṛśaśuṣke tvayaṃ triṣu" iti Ratnamālā;* and later as a "laugh causing a flush", *Bhāvapradyotinī ad Mahāvīracarita* 3.28: *"aṭṭahāso mahānhāso mukharāgādikṛt" ity abhidhānavidaḥ.*

[26] Bakker (Bakker 2007) notes that therefore this dynasty is believed to have acquired its legitimacy and authority thanks to the magic of the Śaiva ascetic Bhairavācārya.

[27] On *Vetālas* see Dezső 2010.

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Since a sword is one of the reflective substrates in which a *prasenā* may appear, it seems likely that Bāṇa is deliberately implying a connection between this goddess and a *prasenā*. The initial manifestation of the goddess is described as follows:

> Thereafter he saw, all of a sudden, a flood of moonlight, and he smelled the fragrance of a night lily pad blossoming in autumn. Suddenly he heard the tinkling of anklets, and he trained his eyes to [the source of] the sound.[28]

This particular combination of seeing, hearing, and smelling was an important factor in the emergence of a *prasenā* too, for these sensory aspects of the vision are affirmed even in the invocatory mantra of the *Tantrasadbhāva* given below: "I see your body, I hear [you] clearly, I myself can smell [you]."[29] These literary sources highlight the brightness of the *prasenā*, who appears as a radiant female dressed in white, while Śaiva sources invoke *prasenā*s with Vidyās of the ferocious Goddess Caṇḍikā, who in the *Tantrasadbhāva* is given the epithets "red one" (*rāktā*, *piṅgalī*).

To proceed, we need to first distinguish two separate levels in the Śaiva textual engagement with *prasenā*s; that of the revealed Śaiva scriptures, and that of the exegetical works. In the latter we find a nearly complete disregard of *prasenā* divination. Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, for example, does not mention it—even in contexts where it might be appropriate, such as the theorisation of the *pratibimbavāda*—, and his commentator Jayaratha does so only in a simile. On the side of the revealed scriptures, on the other hand, *prasenā*s are attested already in the third chapter of the *Niśvāsaguhya* and continue to be a topos in later works too. Several of these primary

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[28] *Harṣacarita* p. 52: *anantaram ca sahasaivātibahalāṃ jyotsnāṃ* (p. 53) *dadarśa, śaradi vikasatāṃ kamalavanānām iva ca ghrāṇāvalepinam āmodam ajighrat.* (2) *jhaṭiti ca nūpuraśabdam aśṛṇot. vyāpārayām āsa ca śabdānusāreṇa dṛṣṭim.*

[29] Mantra before *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.375: *...asvakāyaṃ paśyāmi bāḍhaṃ śṛṇomi svayaṃ jighrāmi....*

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sources remain unedited, or are inaccessible by virtue of their *aiśa* language and syntax.[30]

How then, does the *Mantramārga* accommodate *prasenā* divination?

The sequel attempts to show that the early Śaivasiddhānta set a pattern for inclusion of *prasenā*s, which presumably were judged to be heterodox practices, and how the Trika followed suit. The more radical *Jayadrathayāmala*, by way of contrast, accorded *prasenā*s a more expanded role. The Trika's indebtedness raises the texthistorical question of the intertextuality between the *Niśvāsa* corpus, the *Svacchandatantra* and the Trika's *Tantrasadbhāvatantra*. Sanderson has demonstrated extensive borrowings from the *Niśvāsa* corpus into the *Svacchandatantra* and from there into the *Tantrasadbhāvatantra*. So far, we have discovered no evidence of any material making its way from the *Niśvāsaguhya* into the *Tantrasadbhāva* either directly, or by way of some source other than the *Svacchandatantra*. Since discrete textual passages concerning *prasenā*s are however present in the both the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasadbhāvatantra* it is important to determine whether these reveal any evidence of textual dependence. The precise nature of the intertextuality between these Śaiva scriptures therefore has wide-ranging implications for the historical relationship and the doctrinal dependencies between the early *Trika*, the early *Śaivasiddhānta*, and the traditions of the *Dakṣiṇasrotas* preserved in the *Svacchandatantra*.[31] The earliest Śaiva Tantras are not the only textual sources of relevance to this question. Accounts of *prasenā*s, occasionally even detailed cycles of worship, such as the *Prasenācakreśvarīvidhāna* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, recur in later Śaiva and Śākta works, and evidently not all of these can be directly derived from the *Niśvāsa* corpus. It is further possible that other, now no longer traceable, early *Mantramārga* sources may have existed. This possibility

[30] The present study addresses this issue by providing an edition, translation and discussion of a part of the *Tantrasadbhāva*'s ninth chapter.

[31] A fuller evaluation will have to wait until the Nepalese recension of the *Svacchandatantra* has been edited.

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is made more likely by the existence of a substantial body of Buddhist *Mantranaya* materials concerning *pratisenās*, first surveyed in Orofino (Orofino 1994), some of which have identifiable parallels with the Śaiva materials.

What form does the Śaiva appropriation of *prasenā* divination take?

A preliminary, composite account is found in Smith (Smith 2006: 421ff.) who bases himself on unpublished materials provided by Sanderson. As Smith notes, in the most common case Śaiva mantras are used to induce a benign trance (*svasthāveśa*) in a young girl or boy who then acts as a medium. To demonstrate how brief the instructions can be we can look at a late (12th cent.?) Saiddhāntika scripture, the *Bṛhatkālottara*, that teaches a paradigmatic procedure:

> *Bṛhatkālottara* N1 = NAK 1-273, fol. 321v:[32]
> ***raktoṣṭhi***[33] ***mātaṅgi***[34] ***bhūtamātṛ avatara 2 ehi ādarś[ā]darś[ā]vahi cauraṃ gṛhṇāpaya enam***[35]***.*** *anena mantre[ṇa] kumārīdvaya[sya] mūrdhni puṣpāṇy āmantraṇadine*[36] *deyāni. dvitīye 'hni madhyāhnasamaye snātvā śucinottara*[37]*mukhenāmladravyeṇa*[38] *svamaṃtreṇa svavāmāṅguṣṭhaṃ vimardya tad anu ghanālaktakenopalipya bhūyaḥ sa*[39] *kumārīdvayasyānena mantreṇa śirasi puṣpāṇi dattvāṅguṣṭhaṃ darśayet. cauraṃ kathayati.*
>
> [The mantra is:] **O Red-lipped one! O Mātaṅgī! O mother of the ghosts! Descend! Descend! Come! Show, show! Bring the thief!**[40] **Seize him!** With this mantra flowers should be offered to the head of two virgins on the day of summoning. Purified after bathing at noon on the second day, facing north, one should rub one's own left thumb with *amla* [oil while

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32 *raktoṣṭhi*] *em.*, *raktoṣṭhī* N1

33 *mātaṅgi*] *em.*, *mātaṃgī* N1

34 *bhūtamātṛ*] *em.*, *bhūtobhaï* N1

35 *enam*] *conj.*, *eṣāṃ* N1

36 *āmantraṇadine*] *em.* Sanderson, *amaṃtraṇāṃ dine* N1

37 *śucinottara*] *em.* Sanderson, *śucinondharā* N1

38 *dravyeṇa svamaṃtreṇa*] *em.*, *dravyeṇāsvamaṃtreṇa* N1

39 *bhūyaḥ sa*] *conj.*, *bhūyasā* N1

40 Reading as *ādarśa* + *ādarśa* + *āvahi* (*aiśa* imperative 2nd sg.) It would also be possible to interpret this as *ādarśāvahi* and take it as an *aiśa* opt. 1st pers. dual. ātm: "May you two see!"

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reciting] one's own mantra. Thereafter one should smear it with thick lac and abundantly offer flowers to the head of the two virgins and show them the thumb.[41] [One of them] tells of the theft.

The ritual has here evolved into a two day affair and the main aim remains the detection of a theft. The mantra, if it is not corrupt, seems to imply a female thief. In the *phalaśruti* in the *Tridaśaḍāmarāpratyaṅgirā*[42] too, we also find the *prasenā* closely associated with the power of *satyakathana*, "truth-saying": *lakṣajāpena vidhinā pātālaṃ tu rasātalam | prasenā satyakathana[ṃ] tathā vidhvaṃsamāraṇam*, "After one hundred thousand repetitions [of the mantra one masters] subterranean realms, the *prasenā*, truth-saying, [magical] destruction and murder."

In the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasabhāva*, on the other hand, the original idea of finding thieves is missing. Instead, *prasenā*s have been co-opted to support the prognostications required when an initiation (*dīkṣā*) has failed to yield the desired results. The instructions are added as an appendix to the ritual of initiation as a secondary method to be attempted is the usual dream divination has not yielded any results.

Niśvāsaguhya 3.24–27[43]

śubhāśubhaṃ na dṛṣṭaṃ tu svapne vai sādhakena tu |
prasīnāṅ kārayet tatra japtvā ayutam[44] *uttamam* || 3:24||
OṂ CAṆḌIKE KRAMA *2 ṭhaṭha*[45] *| caṇḍimantro 'yam*[46] |

[41] The conjecture *bhūyaḥ sa* for *bhūyasā* attempts to introduce a nom. subject, but perhaps we should emend rather to *aṅguṣṭho darśyeta* (causative passive optative). Alternatively it may even be permissible for a text like the *Bṛhatkālottara* to admit an instrumental agent with non-passive verb.

[42] NGMCP B 173/22, NAK 3-30 (etext entered by the staff of Muktabodha under the supervision of M.S.G. Dyczkowski) fol. 11 *recto*.

[43] The constituted text reflects the editorial stage it had reached at the TIWET conference in Hamburg in 2010.

[44] *aiśa* hiatus.

[45] *ṭhaṭha* is shorthand/code for the mantra inflection SVĀHĀ, see Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śāradātilaka* 10:109b.

[46] The completed mantra is therefore: OṂ CAṆḌIKE KRAMA KRAMA SVĀHĀ.

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caṇḍimantraṃ tu yo japtvā tailālaktakasaṃyutam || 3:25||
aṅguṣṭhaṃ mrakṣayed vāmaṃ tailaṃ caivābhimantrayet |
dārikāñ ca kumāraṅ ca mukhaṃ prakṣālya vīkṣayet || 3:26||
tilataṇḍulabhakṣantau paśyantau yat tu cintitam |
tato dṛṣṭvā ca śrutvā ca sādhayen mantrasattamam[47] || 3:27||

But, if the *sādhaka* does not see any auspicious or inauspicious sign in his dream, he should invoke a Prasīnā by reciting at least[48] ten thousand times. OṂ CAṆḌIKE KRAMA KRAMA SVĀHĀ. This the mantra of Caṇḍī [that must be used]. After reciting the mantra of Caṇḍī he should mix oil and lac[49] and [then] smear his thumb while mantrically empowering the oil.[50] After washing the faces of a boy and a girl he should make them look [at the thumb]. Eating[51] sesame and rice they see what the problem is.[52] After [they have seen [it, the *sādhaka*,] hearing [it from them], should master the best of mantras.[53]

Tantrasadbhāva 9.375–379

The ninth chapter of the *Tantrasadbhāva*, which teaches the initiatory rite (*samayadīkṣā*[54]) for *samayin* neophytes, the lowest rank in a hierarchy of four initiates, calls these oracular apparitions *prasannā*. They appear again in a secondary, prognosticatory function, to be summoned only if the usual dream prognostication has failed.

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[47] *sattamam*] K *uttama* W.

[48] *Uttamam*. I am interpreting this by analogy to the usage of *-uttara* with numbers to express "exceeding".

[49] I am interpreting as: ...*tailam ālaktaṃ ca saṃyutaṃ [kuryāt]*.

[50] Awkwardly, the *abhimantrayet* comes last.

[51] Perhaps better interpreted as a causative too: "Being fed rice and sesame..."

[52] I am interpreting *cintitam* as a synonym for *cintyam*. It could also simply mean whatever was thought about by the *sādhaka*.

[53] That is, the boy and girl tell the *sādhaka* what they have seen.

[54] *Samayin* initiates undergo an initiation culminating with the laying on of the "Hand of Śiva" (*śivahasta*), cf. *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* 10.12–13. This authorizes the initiate to study Śaiva scriptures and binds him to post-initiatory vows called *samayas*. The usual progression from this initiatory level is the stage of being a *putraka*.

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athānyat[55] *saṃpravakṣyāmi prasannāvidhim uttamam* | [fol. N_1 52^r, N_2 96^v]
[*prakṛtiḥ*:] OṂ NAMAŚ CAṆḌIKĀYAI YOGAVĀHINI PRAVARTTA PRAVARTTA MAHĀMOHAYA MOHAYA[56] YOGAMUKHI[57] YOGEŚVARI MAHĀMĀYĀDHĀRIṆI[58] HIRI 2 BHŪTAPRIYE SVAKĀYAṂ[59] PAŚYĀMI BĀḌHAṂ ŚṚṆOMI SVAYAṂ JIGHRĀMI[60] SARVALOKĀNI PAŚYĀMI TURU 2 SĀDHAYA 2 SVĀHĀ ||
rudrasthāne śucir[61] *bhūtvā sahasrā daśa yojayet* ||375||
siddhā[62] *bhavati sā vidyā daśa karmāṇi kārayet* |
candre sūrye 'thavā khaḍge darpaṇe[63] *vātha dīpake* ||376||
aṅguṣṭhe vā ghaṭe[64] *vāpi*[65] *dārikāṃ*[66] *vātha dārakam*[67] |
paśyāpayaty[68] *asaṃdehāt*[69] *tilād*[70] *vā taṇḍulād ataḥ* ||377||
bhūtaṃ[71] *bhavyaṃ*[72] *bhaviṣyaṃ*[73] *ca pṛcchataḥ*[74] *kathayanti*[75] *hi* |
atha vidyāṃ samāvartya rajanyāṃ[76] *svapayec chuciḥ* ||378||
svayam eva prapaśyeta[77] *svapnānte yac chubhāśubham*[78] |

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55 *anyat*] *em.*, *anyaṃ codd*
56 *mohaya*] N_1N_3, *omitted* N_2
57 *yogamukhi*] N_1N_3, *mogamukhi* N_2
58 *dhāriṇi*] N_2, *dhariṇi* N_1N_3
59 *svakāyaṃ*] N_1N_3, *svakāryaṃ* N_2
60 *śṛṇomi svayaṃ jighrāmi*] *em.*, *śṛṇomi svaya jighrāmi* N_2, *śṛṇomi* N_1N_3,
61 *śucir*] N_1N_3, *śuci* N_2
62 *siddhā*] N_1N_3, *siddha* N_2
63 *darpaṇe*] N_3N_2, *darppaṇo* N_1
64 *ghaṭe*] N_3, *ghaṭo* N_1
65 *vāpi*] $N_1^{pc}N_3$, *vātha* N_1^{ac}
66 *dārikāṃ*] N_1N_3, *dāyikāṃ* N_2
67 *dārakam*] *em.*, *dārakāṃ* $N_1N_2N_3$ (*cf. Tantrasadbhāva* 21.35a: *dārakaṃ dārikāṃ vāpi*)
68 *paśyāpayaty*] N_1N_3, *paśyāmayaty* N_2
69 *asaṃdehāt*] N_3, *asaṃdehān* N_1, *asaṃdahān* N_2
70 *tilād*] *conj.*, *tilām* N_1N_3, *tirlā* N_2
71 *bhūtaṃ*] N_1N_3, *bhūta* N_2
72 *bhavyaṃ*] N_3, *bhāvya*° N_1, *sāvya*° N_2
73 *bhaviṣyaṃ*] N_1N_3, *bhaviṣyaṃś* N_2
74 *pṛcchataḥ*] *conj.*, *pṛcchate codd*
75 *kathayanti*] N_3N_2, *kathayānti* N_1
76 *rajanyāṃ*] *em.*, *rajānyāṃ* N_1N_3, *rajaṃnyā* N_2
77 *prapaśyeta*] N_3N_2, *prapasyeta* N_1
78 *chubhāśubham*] N_3, *chubhācchubham* N_1N_2

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[*vikṛtiḥ* 1:]
OṂ RAKTE RAKTĀṄGUṢṬHE[79] UCCHUṢME AVATARA AVATARA PIŚĀCINI KATHAYA KATHAYA[80] KATHĀPAYA KATHĀPAYA[81] SVĀHĀ |
khaḍga -m- ādarśake vātha aṅguṣṭhe vā varānane |
paśyati[82] *kanyakā*[83] *sarvaṃ*[84] *śubhāśubhaṃ*[85] *phalāphalam* ||379|| [N_2 57^r]

[*vikṛtiḥ* 2:]
OṂ PIṄGALI PĀŚUPATI MAHĀVIDYE[86] SVĀHĀ |
eṣā vidyā mahādevi karma kurvati[87] *saptadhā* ||380||

[*vikṛtiḥ* 3:]
OṂ RAKTE VIRAKTE AVATARA 2 MĀTAṄGINI SVĀHĀ |
navavidhaṃ[88] *syād yat karma eṣā vidyā karoti hi* ||381||
saptabhir mantritaṃ hastaṃ kṛtvā svorasi[89] *vinyaset |*
svayam eva hi jānāti mantrasyāsya prabhāvataḥ ||382||

[*vikṛtiḥ* 3:]
OṂ NAMAŚ CAṆḌIKĀYAI AVATARA 2 TURU 2 SVĀHĀ |
sopavāsaḥ[90] *śucir*[91] *bhūtvā aṣṭotkṛṣṭaśataṃ*[92] *japet |*
rātrau svapne tv avatīrya kathayed[93] *yac chubhāśubham* ||383||
[*sāmānyavidhiḥ*:]
sarvāsāṃ caiva vidyānāṃ caṇḍikāgṛham āśritaḥ |
daśasāhasriko jāpyas tataḥ karmāṇi kārayet ||384|| [N_1 52^v]

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79 *raktāṅguṣṭhe*] N_1N_3, *raktāguṣṭhe* N
80 *kathaya kathaya*] N_2N_3, *kathaya 2* N_1
81 *kathāpaya kathāpaya*] N_3N_2, *kathāpaya 2* N_1
82 *paśyati*] N_1, *paśyanti* N_3N_2
83 *kanyakā* N_1N_3, *kanikās* N_2
84 *sarvaṃ*] N_1N_3, *sarva* N_2
85 *śubhāśubhaṃ*] *em.*, *śubhāśubha*° $N_1N_2N_3$
86 *mahāvidye*] N_1N_3, *mahāvidya* N_2
87 *kurvati*] *conj.* (*aiśa* morphology), *kurvanti codd*
88 *navavidhaṃ*] *em.*, *navavidha* $N_1N_2N_3$
89 *svorasi*] *em.*, *svaurasi* N_2, *saurasi* N_1N_3
90 *sopavāsaḥ*] $N_3N_1^{pc}$ N_2, *sopavāsa* N_1^{ac}
91 *śucir*] N_1N_3, *śuci* N_2
92 *aṣṭotkṛṣṭa*°] N_3, *aṣṭautkṛṣṭa*° N_1N_2
93 *kathayed yac chubhā*°] N_1N_2, *kathayec chubhā*° N_3 *hypometrical*

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Now I will reveal another[94] [method of prognostication], the supreme *Prasannā* procedure. [The mantra to be used is:][95]

[Basic ritual:] OṂ HOMAGE TO CAṆḌIKĀ! O BRINGER OF YOGA! COME FORTH! COME FORTH! GREATLY BEGUILE! BEGUILE! O FACE/MOUTH OF YOGA![96] O MISTRESS OF YOGA! O SUPPORTER OF GREAT MĀYĀ! POSSESS! POSSESS! O BELOVED OF THE GHOSTS/LOVER OF GHOSTS! I SEE [YOUR] OWN BODY. I CLEARLY HEAR! I MYSELF CAN SMELL. I SEE ALL THE WORLDS. HURRY! HURRY! BE SUCCESSFUL! BE SUCCESSFUL! SVĀHĀ! After becoming pure in a Śaiva temple one should recite the mantra ten thousand times. The spell is mastered and enables ten actions. He should make a girl or a boy look[97] at the moon, the sun, [the blade of] a sword, a mirror, a lamp, a thumb, or a pot [of water]. Immediately, or after [feeding them] sesame and rice, they reveal the past, present and future to the questioner. Then he should dismiss the mantra[-deity] and sleep after purifying himself. At the end of his sleep/dreams he will see the positive and negative prognosis himself.

[Inflection 1:] OṂ! O RED ONE! O RED-THUMB[ED ONE]! O CRACKLING ONE! DESCEND! DESCEND! O FLESH-EATER! TELL! TELL! MAKE [HER/HIM] TELL! MAKE [HER/HIM] TELL! SVĀHĀ! In a sword[-blade], in a mirror, or in a thumb, O fair-faced one, the virgin sees all the positive and negative prognosis, the good outcome and the bad.

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[94] The emendation from *anyaṃ* to *anyat* avoids the potential misunderstanding that other *prasannāvidhi*s have been taught elsewhere in the text. It is possible that *anyaṃ* is to be understood only with the *vidhi*-element of the compound, but such a *sāpekṣasamāsa* would be unclear, violating the cardinal rule of *sugamatva*.

[95] The resolved mantra is: OṂ NAMAŚ CAṆḌIKĀYAI YOGAVĀHINI PRAVARTTA PRAVARTTA MAHĀMOHAYA MOHAYA YOGAMUKHI YOGEŚVARI MAHĀMĀYĀDHĀRIṆI HIRI HIRI BHŪTAPRIYE SVAKĀYAṂ PAŚYĀMI BĀḌHAṂ ŚṚṆOMI SVAYAṂ JIGHRĀMI SARVALOKĀNI PAŚYĀMI TURU TURU SĀDHAYA SĀDHAYA SVĀHĀ!

[96] This could be interpreted as 'entrance to yoga', or as 'foremost in yoga'.

[97] An *aiśa* causative in place of *darśayati*. It does not appear to intend a double causative (on which, see the commentaries to Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.3.88).

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> [Inflection 2:] Oṃ O TAWNY ONE! O CONSORT OF PAŚUPATI! O EXALTED SPELL! SVĀHĀ! This spell, O great goddess, accomplishes seven actions.
>
> [Inflection 3:] Oṃ O RED ONE! O PASSIONLESS ONE! DESCEND! DESCEND! O MĀTAṄGĪ! SVĀHĀ! This spell performs action that is ninefold. After empowering it with seven [repetitions] one should place one's hand on one's own chest, and, by the power of this mantra, one will know [what is sought] oneself.
>
> [Inflection 4:] Oṃ HOMAGE TO CAṆḌIKĀ! DESCEND! DESCEND! HURRY! HURRY! SVĀHĀ! After cleansing himself and abstaining [from food etc.] he should recite [the mantra] one hundred and eight times. Descending at night in a dream [the goddess] will reveal positive and negative prognoses.
>
> [Conclusion:] For all of these spells one should go to a temple of Caṇḍikā, and recite ten thousand times. Afterwards one should have the rites performed.

In 9.376b and in 9.380d the *prasenā* is said to enable or accomplish ten or seven *karma*s respectively. This presumably intends a list comparable to that found in a similar *prasenā* teaching in the *Jayadrathayāmala*:

> Bewitching, attraction, causing hate, killing, driving away etc., paralysing, stupefaction, bestowing courage, warding off of poison and thunderbolts, subduing serpents (or elephants), destruction of enemies, stopping the motion of ships, wagons or machines, or of celestial bodies.[98]

Synoptically, the available evidence now allows the following characterization of the early Śaiva appropriation of *prasenā*s. In the early Śaivasiddhānta *prasenā*s were relegated to a prognosticatory role in support of a more common method of dream divination. They are taught in what can be described as appendices to the ritual of initiation. This function was maintained and elaborated on with more options

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[98] *Jayadrathayāmala*'s *Indīvarīkālīvidhi*, 2.17: *vaśyākarṣaṇavidveṣam āraṇoccāṭanādikam / stambhaṃ stobhaṃ tathotsāhaṃ viṣāśaninivāraṇam / nāganigraham atyugraṃ ripucakravighātanam / nāvāśakaṭayantrāṇāṃ stambhanaṃ divyasaṃtateḥ / siddhyanty akleśato devi yogamārgān na saṃśayaḥ.* I am interpreting *divyasaṃtati* here as "celestial bodies".

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in the Trika's *Tantrasadbhāvatantra.* In addition, the *Tantrasadbhāva* also sees *prasenās* as capable of effecting other, destructive, ritual *karmas*. If we compare the textual passages it seems unlikely that the *Tantrasadbhāva*'s *prasenā* teachings are direct rewordings of the material found in the *Niśvāsaguhya*. Other sources must be assumed. It seems even likely that the four inflections of the basic ritual derive from (four?) different scriptures. The *Svacchandatantra*, at least in its Kashmirian recension, lacks any reference to *prasenās*, it cannot, in this case, have been the intermediary between the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasadbhāvatantra.* Even though we therefore cannot, with the present evidence, establish a direct textual link between the *prasenā* material found in the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the *Tantrasadbhāvatantra*, it is nevertheless clear that the *Tantrasadbhāva* follows exactly the same pattern of including *prasenās* as an ancillary to the prognostications for failed initiations. In both scriptures *prasenās* are functionally the same. Neither the chronologically and doctrinally more removed *Bṛhatkālottara* nor the Krama's *Jayadrathayāmala* follow this model. The latter evidences a much richer set of teachings foregrounding *prasenās* as the central deities of their own cycles of worship.

Abbreviations and Sigla:

CDIAL *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.*

N1 *Tantrasadbhāva.* NAK 5-445 *śaivatantra* 185, accessed through microfilm NGMPP A 44/2, palmleaf, 210 folios. Designated by "G" in Dyczkowski's etext.

N2 *Tantrasadbhāva.* NAK 1-363 *śaivatantra*, accessed through microfilm NGMPP A 44/1, palmleaf 140 folios. Designated by "KH" in Dyczkowski's etext.

N_3 *Tantrasadbhāva.* NAK 5-1985, NGMCP A188/22. Designated by "K" in Dyczkowski's etext.

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NAK National Archives Kathmandu, Nepal.

NGMCP Nepal German Manuscript Cataloguing Project.

L *Kalāvilāsa.* India Office Library London, No. 114a, ff. 37, Devanāgarī, dated *saṃvat* 1725.

P *Kalāvilāsa.* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, No. 65, 24 of 1873–74, ff. 21, Jaina Devanāgarī dated *saṃvat* 1931.

Q *Kalāvilāsa.* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, No. 66, 373 of 1887–91, ff. 22–34, *sarga*s 5–10, Devanāgarī, undated.

conj.	conjecture
corr.	correction
em.	emendation
om.	omitted
<no.>	supplies no. of *akṣara*s missing
+++	illegible *akṣara*s
x → y	citation ranges from x to y

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Reviews

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Gyula Wojtilla, *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti. A Sanskrit Work on Agriculture.* Edited with an Introductory Study by G. Wojtilla. Beiträge zur Kenntnis südasiatischer Sprachen und Literaturen 21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, 144 pp.; ISBN 978-3-447-06265-7 – reviewed by Jaroslav Vacek, Charles University in Prague

It is particularly due to the great interest on the part of Western scholars that Indian literary tradition is mainly known for its religious, ritualistic and philosophical texts (be it the early Vedic and later Upanishadic texts, or the much later Puranic texts). It is also known for its real literary creations, especially those of the two great epics (though also interpolated with various texts of the above mentioned genres) and the later *kāvya* texts (poetry, drama, epics) with a complex theoretical background and theoretical analysis of the style etc. In a sense this literature represents the 'ideal' space not always connected with the 'real' world, or reflecting only some of its features.

From among the scientific texts, those most studied seem to be the texts related to phonetics, linguistics and literary theory, and also philosophy (including the commentaries on the various texts). The other scientific fields are often referred to in systematic surveys and histories of literature, but they are mostly of interest to specialists in the various fields of the specific sciences, less to Indologists. In fact, the Old Indian scientific texts in general (including linguistics etc.) represent

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an important and unique contribution of the Indian intellectual tradition to the general knowledge and understanding not only of the surrounding world, but of the whole universe, in which they were very much ahead of the rest of the ancient world.

In this context the edition prepared by G. Wojtilla is an important contribution to one very "down-to-earth" type of Indian 'intellectual' tradition, namely the description of agriculture. Besides the edition of the text (pp. 31–92), the work includes a systematic analysis of several important topics. The text has been ascribed to Kāśyapamuni and the author, his age and provenance are discussed in the Introduction (pp. 9–19). The text is not easy to date exactly, the proposed dates range within the second half of the 1st Millennium A.D. (p. 11). Further G. Wojtilla analyzes the structure of the work, its language and style and summarizes the information about the sources (manuscripts, etc.; pp. 20ff.). Of particular importance is the Glossary of selected terms unattested or insufficiently recorded in Sanskrit dictionaries.

Some relevant information obtained from the text is analyzed in five Appendices (pp. 103–137), including information about the society of those times as seen in the text (Appendix One) and some aspects of agricultural technology and methods (including crop rotation, meteorology, manure, irrigation, agricultural tools etc.; Appendix Two). Appendix Three touches upon the more 'metaphysical' aspects, such as the role of gods, ritual and worship. Appendix Four deals with what is 'edible or inedible' and Appendix Five contains a list of the names of plants, as they appear in the text, and their botanical identification.

Though this text is concerned with one 'practical' aspect of life, or perhaps exactly because it is so, it is also an important testimony to the language reflecting these various aspects and its special features. In fact, the vocabulary of this branch is in many ways very specific and betrays the influence of the pre-IA languages (cf. e.g. Southworth 2005; or M. Witzel 2006 with further references),[1] and in that

[1] Cf. in particular Franklin C. Southworth, 2005, *Linguistic archaeology of South Asia.* London: Routledge-Curzon (passim, and especially

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it reflects one relevant aspect of the ancient reality. From that it would follow that much of the agricultural tradition was to a great extent linked to the indigenous population and that is why many terms were automatically borrowed from their languages.[2] The list of the names of plants (App. Five, pp. 133–137) deserves attention and this topic should certainly be studied further on the basis of more materials drawn from similar texts. It is not only a lexicographical question. In the case of a specific text it is also a question of what aspects of the external (and also social) reality the text reflects and in which way – which should then provide relevant information with respect to its location in time and space.

To conclude, besides the edition of the text, the book offers a complex analysis of a number of important topics in the Appendices. In doing so it provides an invaluable source of information on, and interpretation of, the questions concerning the agricultural tradition as a complex product of everyday life of ancient Indian society. This is because agriculture was certainly one of the important phenomena characterising the life of ancient people. In this form the present edition appears to be a non-negligible 'handbook' to help in understanding this very extensive topic, while it may also offer a useful background for the interpretation of other aspects of ancient everyday life.

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pp. 193ff.). Further cf. M. Witzel, 2006, South Asian Agricultural Terms in Old Indo-Aryan. In: *Proceedings of the Pre-Symposium of RHIN and 7th ESCA Harward-Kyoto Round Table.* Kyoto: Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RHIN), pp. 96–120. Franklin C. Southworth, 2005, *Linguistic archaeology of South Asia*, London: Routledge-Curzon, pp. 193ff.

[2] Note what M. Witzel (2006, p. 96) says concerning this question: "(In this paper) only the most important terms can be dealt with, such as those for wheat, rice, millet and plough – all of which have diverse, non-Indo-Aryan origins. This is typical: different from pastoral terms, agricultural ones that have come down to Indo-Aryan from Indo-Iranian and Indo-European (such as 'barley') are very rare and indicate the predominantly pastoral interests of the early speakers of Indo-Aryan."

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